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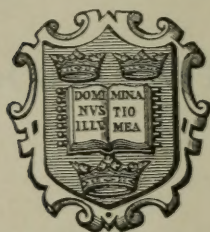
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XENOPHON'S ANABASIS

SECOND BOOK

*C. S. JERRAM*

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HENRY FROWDE



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THE SECOND BOOK

OF

XENOPHON'S ANABASIS

EDITED, WITH NOTES

BY

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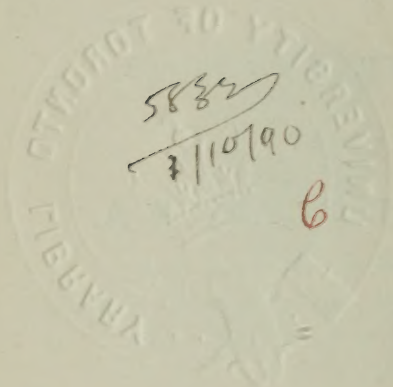
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## P R E F A C E.

IN preparing this edition I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to make the Second Book complete in itself, without presupposing on the part of the student a knowledge of the general contents of the *Anabasis*. No boy indeed should venture upon any distinct portion of Xenophon's work, without at least some previous acquaintance with the outlines of the story, such as may be gained from a Classical Dictionary, or from the earlier chapters of the *Xenophon* in Mr. Collins' Series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*. Still it is convenient to have the required information close at hand; I have therefore given in my Introduction a sketch of the narrative down to the point where the Second Book begins, and added a Table of the most important dates, abridged from the one in the *Easy Selections*, edited by Mr. Phillpotts and myself. Some of the notes also, in substance if not in words, are repeated from the same work, and the Map showing the Route of the Greeks has been made to serve for both volumes.

The text is that of Dindorf's Second Edition, 1855, printed at the Clarendon Press. In the notes I have availed myself of the best annotated editions, English

and German, and of the results of geographical investigations more or less recent, such as are found in Ainsworth's *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, Colonel Chesney's *Expedition*, and in the 69th and 70th chapters of Grote's *History of Greece*. To the excellent new edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis* I, II, by Mr. R. W. Taylor (1877), I owe special obligations, which I hope I have in all cases duly acknowledged.

CHARLES S. JERRAM.

WOODCOTE HOUSE, WINDLESHAM,  
*August, 1878.*

## INTRODUCTION.

‘How the Greek force was collected for Cyrus, when he began the expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what occurred during his upward march, how the battle took place, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and rested, believing that they had gained a complete victory and that Cyrus was still alive, has been related in the former part of my narrative.’ With this brief summary by way of preface Xenophon resumes the story in the Second Book of his *Anabasis*, to which an account of the events narrated in the First Book forms an appropriate and necessary introduction.

Darius II, called Nothus, had succeeded to the throne of Persia in 424 B.C. By his wife Parysatis he had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus, the former of whom was born previously to his own accession, the latter after that event. Hence Cyrus hoped to become king when his father died, just as Xerxes, some seventy years before, had been chosen to succeed Darius I, because he was born during his father’s reign. The claims of Cyrus were vigorously supported by Parysatis, who much preferred him to Artaxerxes; but notwithstanding her solicitations Darius could not be prevailed upon to name the younger son as his successor to the throne. In 407 B.C., he invested him with the important satrapy of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, with Sardis for his capital, exclusive of the Ionian cities on the west coast, which still remained under the government of Tissaphernes, the predecessor of Cyrus. Three years later all these towns, except Miletus, revolted to the new satrap; and about the same time Cyrus was summoned to Babylon to attend his father’s death-bed. Upon the death of Darius, Artaxerxes was proclaimed king, and Cyrus, being



accused shortly afterwards by Tissaphernes of conspiring against his brother's life, was on the point of losing his own; but though he escaped through the powerful intercession of Parysatis, he was nevertheless sent back to his province in disgrace, and from this time forward devoted all his energies and resources to the one object of dethroning the king.

When Cyrus came down to Asia Minor in 407 B.C., the prolonged struggle between Athens and Sparta was entering upon its last stage. Unlike Tissaphernes, who had adopted the policy of balancing one power against the other with the view of weakening both, he brought with him an intense hatred of Athens, and a fixed resolution to aid the Peloponnesian cause by every possible means. His zealous cooperation with Lysander, the newly appointed Lacedaemonian admiral, must have determined in no small degree the course of events, which culminated in the crushing defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami in September 405. In pursuing this policy Cyrus had an eye to his own interests. He foresaw a time not far distant, when he would need more efficient help for the prosecution of his ambitious designs than he already had at his disposal; nor was he slow to perceive the value of Greek auxiliary forces, and the superiority of their organisation over that of the Persians. Therefore by helping Sparta to obtain the ascendancy in Greece he hoped to secure her services in return, when the moment came for availing himself of them.

On his return to Sardis, Cyrus lost no time in beginning his preparations. Under pretext of defending the Ionic towns, which had revolted from Tissaphernes, against the alleged designs of that satrap, he instructed the commanders of the various garrisons in his province to procure as many Peloponnesian soldiers as they could, employing at the same time his numerous Greek friends to raise troops for him in different parts of the country. Among these friends were Clearchus a Lacedaemonian exile, Aristippus a Thessalian, and others, to whom Cyrus granted funds to maintain large bodies of mercenaries for their own immediate requirements, on the understanding that they should be at his call whenever he should



want them. He next desired Proxenus, a Boeotian, to join him at Sardis with as large a force as he could muster, under pretence of making war against the Pisidians, a marauding highland tribe, who were in the habit of molesting his province by their incursions. Proxenus not only complied with this request, but invited his Athenian friend Xenophon to join in the enterprise as a volunteer, promising to introduce him to Cyrus, who he said was 'a better friend to him than his own country' (*Anabasis*, III. i. 4). After an interview with Socrates and a consultation of the oracle at Delphi, Xenophon resolved to take service under Cyrus, who received him on his arrival at Sardis with undisguised satisfaction, promising to send him home again, as soon as the expedition (still represented as against the Pisidians) should be concluded. All these preparations being completed in the spring of 401 B.C., Cyrus assembled his forces at Sardis, consisting of nearly 8000 Greeks, besides 100,000 native soldiers. Hereupon Tissaphernes, suspecting that something more was intended than a mere invasion of Pisidia, set off to warn Artaxerxes, who had hitherto not thought it worth his while to interfere.

Leaving Sardis, the army marched in a south-easterly direction through Lydia, and crossing the Maeander came to Colossae in Phrygia, where Menon the Thessalian joined with a force of 1500 men. Thence they proceeded by way of Celaenae, Peltae, and Ceramön-Agora to the plain of Caÿster, where they remained for five days. By this time three months' pay was due to the soldiers, and Cyrus having no funds was in distress what to do, when the opportune arrival of Epyaxa, wife of the Cilician king Syennesis, with a large sum of money, enabled him to meet the demand. At Tyriaeum, four days' march further on, Cyrus held a review of his army to gratify this Cilician queen, who was still in his company; and the effect of the Greek charge on this occasion is described by Xenophon as extremely terrifying to the Asiatics, including Epyaxa herself, who had never seen anything of the kind before. Arriving by way of Iconium at the confines of Cilicia, Cyrus sent Epyaxa home under the escort of Menon and his division by an unfrequented pass over Mount Taurus, intending

to take the rest of his army across by the regular pass to the northward, known as the Cilician Gates. This was however occupied by Syennesis, whose resistance was probably a feint, in order that he might stand well with Artaxerxes, in case Cyrus should fail in his enterprise<sup>1</sup>. At any rate Syennesis speedily evacuated his position, allowed Cyrus to reach Tarsus without further opposition, and finally contracted an alliance with him, giving him at the same time money for the support of his troops.

At Tarsus the soldiers, knowing that Pisidia was passed and suspecting the real object of the expedition (hitherto kept a secret from every one except Clearchus), refused to advance any further. Clearchus, endeavouring to force his own division to proceed, was met with open resistance and even personally assaulted. He therefore made an address to his men, disclaiming all intention of acting without their support, while he pointed out the difficulties of their present situation, and the necessity of deciding at once what it was best to do. It was resolved to ask Cyrus his real intentions, and envoys were sent for this purpose, who brought back the reply that Cyrus wished to attack Abrocomas, an enemy of his, who was now on the Euphrates twelve days' march distant. 'If he found him there, he would punish him; if not, they must consider how to proceed.' The soldiers were forced to content themselves with this answer, but desired an increase of pay, which was granted, and confidence for a time restored. They marched forward to Issus on the confines of Syria, where Cyrus was joined by his ships, with 700 hoplites on board under command of the Spartan Cheirisophus. Besides these, 400 mercenaries deserted to him from Abrocomas, so that the total number of Greeks in his army was now 14,000 men. At Myriandrus, a Phoenician seaport one day's march beyond Issus, two Greek captains deserted in a merchant-vessel with

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, Chap. LXIX) thinks this was evidently the case; also that the opportune visit of Epyaxa and the admission of Menon over Mount Taurus were manœuvres in collusion with Cyrus.

their property, but Cyrus refused to pursue them or to take any measures for their apprehension. By this generous conduct he secured the good-will of the soldiers, even of such as had previously been most dissatisfied, who accompanied him henceforward with increased confidence and zeal.

Twelve days' march inland brought them to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and here Cyrus formally announced the object of the expedition. The soldiers murmured at first, but being well aware that there was no help for it, consented to go forward upon the promise of a handsome donation as soon as they should reach Babylon, besides their full rate of pay until their return to Ionia. While the debate was in progress, Menon anticipated the result by crossing the river with his own division separately, an act of forwardness which, as its perpetrator intended, was highly appreciated by Cyrus at this juncture. Having crossed the Euphrates, and afterwards one of its tributaries, the Araxes, the Greeks came to the desert of Arabia, where they had good sport with the antelopes, bustards, and other wild animals abounding there. After a march of thirteen days through this desolate region, where they suffered greatly from want of provisions, they arrived at Pylæ, the entrance into Babylonia. During their halt there a serious dispute between the soldiers of Clearchus and those of Menon, in which the commanders themselves became involved, was with difficulty allayed by Cyrus, who pointed out the fatal consequences of disunion at such a moment, and the necessity of setting a good example to the natives whom they saw around them. Advancing into Babylonia they found for the first time traces of the enemy, who had been ravaging all the country in front of them and burning up the fodder. Here Orontes, a Persian noble, being detected in an attempt to desert to the king with a body of 1000 horse, which he had persuaded Cyrus to entrust to him, was apprehended, examined, and privately put to death. On the third day following, at midnight, Cyrus held a review of his army on the plain, and found it to consist of nearly 13,000 Greeks and 100,000 natives, while the enemy were reported to be more than a million strong. Hereupon Cyrus addressed the Greek



commanders, assuring them of the worthlessness of the barbarians, as soldiers, in comparison with themselves, and adding liberal promises to stimulate their zeal in his cause. Still the king's army did not appear, and the next day the Greeks came upon a trench dug right across the plain from the wall of Media to within twenty feet of the Euphrates. But this narrow passage was left undefended, and the army marched through it without let or hindrance. Cyrus now began to think that his brother had given up all idea of fighting in the open plain, and relaxed his vigilance accordingly; the army marching in loose order, and Cyrus himself riding in a chariot instead of on horseback. Suddenly, near a village called Cunaxa, about sixty miles from Babylon, the king's army was reported to be approaching in battle array. The Cyreians (who had not yet taken their morning meal) lost no time in arming themselves and forming their line; the Greeks being posted on the right next the river, and the Asiatic troops, commanded by Ariaeus, on the extreme left. Cyrus himself, with a body-guard of 600 horse, occupied the centre. It was not till late in the afternoon that the enemy's forces became clearly visible. Tissaphernes with the Persian cavalry appeared on the left wing, fronting the Greeks; the Persian bowmen stood on his right, and next to them a body of Egyptian infantry with long wooden shields. In the centre was the king himself, surrounded by a chosen band of 6000 horsemen; but so vast was his array, that, though occupying the middle of his own line, he outflanked the extreme left of the Cyreian army. Cyrus now called upon Clearchus to lead the attack upon the enemy's centre, seeing that a blow struck there was likely to be decisive; but Clearchus, afraid of withdrawing his right flank from the protection of the river, determined to remain where he was, and replied that 'he would take care that everything went well.' Upon this Cyrus, having ascertained that the omens from the sacrifices were favourable, returned to his own station in the centre.

The two armies being now within half a mile of each other, the Greeks raised their war-cry and made a vigorous charge against the left wing of the Persians, who all (with the excep-



tion of Tissaphernes and his division) turned and fled. Their opponents lost not a single man in this encounter. Artaxerxes, finding that no attack was directed against his centre, began by a flank movement to surround the Greeks, intending to take them in the rear. Immediately Cyrus with his 600 horse charged the king's body-guard of 6000, dispersed them, and slew their leader; then infuriated by the sight of his brother, whom he now saw for the first time, he rushed upon him and wounded him slightly in the breast. At this moment he received a violent blow from a javelin, by which he was cast to the ground and slain. His head and right hand were cut off by order of the king.

Ariaeus and his Asiatic troops now fled from the field as far as the halting-place of the previous night, leaving their camp to be plundered by the king and his men. Clearchus with his own division had meanwhile been pursuing the routed left wing of the Persians for a considerable distance, but hearing that the king had fallen upon their camp, they marched back and met the plunderers returning. Artaxerxes drew up his line for an attack, but the Greeks made the first onset, and put the Persians to flight more effectually even than before. They then halted awhile, ignorant of the fate of Cyrus and expecting to hear news of him; soon however they resolved to return to their camp, which they found stripped of all provisions, so that they were compelled to pass the night fasting.

At this point the First Book concludes, terminating the Expedition of Cyrus, or the *Anabasis* properly so called; the remaining Books are occupied with the adventures of the Greeks in their homeward march under the conduct of Xenophon, commonly known as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand.



# PRINCIPAL DATES.

## PREVIOUS HISTORY.

	B.C.
<b>Cyrus the Great</b> founds the Persian Empire . . . . .	559
<b>Cambyses</b> , his son, succeeds . . . . .	529
<b>Darius I</b> (Hystaspes) . . . . .	521
Ionian towns revolt from Persia . . . . .	500
First Persian Invasion of Greece. <b>Marathon</b> . . . . .	490
<b>Xerxes</b> succeeds to the throne . . . . .	485
Second Persian Invasion. <b>Salamis</b> . . . . .	480
<b>Artaxerxes I</b> succeeds . . . . .	465
Peloponnesian War begins . . . . .	431
<b>Darius II</b> (Nothus) succeeds . . . . .	424
<b>Tissaphernes</b> made Satrap of Asia Minor . . . . .	413
<b>Cyrus the younger</b> , son of Darius, supersedes Tissaphernes .	407
Athenian fleet destroyed at Aegos-potami . . . . .	405
<b>Artaxerxes II</b> (Mnemon) succeeds . . . . .	405 or 404
<b>Cyrus</b> completes his preparations against his brother . . .	401

## EXPEDITION OF CYRUS (ANABASIS).

<b>Departure from Sardis</b> about March 6th . . . . .	401
Arrival at Colossae about March 10th . . . . .	"
„ Celaenae about March 20th . . . . .	"
„ Plain of Cayster about May 1st . . . . .	"
Review at Tyriaeum about May 9th . . . . .	"
Arrival at Tarsus about June 6th . . . . .	"
„ Issus about June 28th . . . . .	"
„ Myriandrus about July 6th . . . . .	"
„ Thapsacus about July 23rd . . . . .	"
Crossing the Araxes about August 6th . . . . .	"

	B.C.
Through the Desert about August 9th . . . . .	401
Arrival at Pylae about August 31st . . . . .	„
Midnight Review about September 3rd . . . . .	„
<b>Battle of Cunaxa</b> about September 7th . . . . .	„

## BEGINNING OF THE RETREAT.

Message from the King. Reply of Greeks. Treaty with Ariaeus, about September 8th . . . . .	„
<b>The Retreat begun</b> , about September 9th . . . . .	„
Truce made with the King, about September 10th . . . . .	„
Arrival at Sittace, about October 11th . . . . .	„
„ Great Zab, about October 26th . . . . .	„
Murder of the five Generals, about October 29th . . . . .	„



# XENOPHON, ANABASIS.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

*Recapitulation of the First Book. The Greeks, surprised at hearing no news of Cyrus, resolve to go forward to join him.*

Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὥς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἕμ-  
προσθεν λόγῳ δεδηλωται. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σηματοῦντα ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἂ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις προῖέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίξειαν. 10

*News of the death of Cyrus and of the flight of Ariæus. The Greeks claim the victory, and offer to make Ariæus king.*

Ἦδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγυνώς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ

Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῶ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος  
 μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη  
 15 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὠρμῶντο,  
 καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν ἂν  
 αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ  
 Ἰωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον.  
 20 Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν. Ἀλλ' ὦφеле μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς  
 νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καὶ, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται,  
 καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα.  
 ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἔαν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν  
 25 θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχη  
 νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί.

*The envoys depart with two of the generals to Ariæus. Scarcity  
 of provisions.*

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς  
 Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ  
 γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος  
 30 Ἀριαίου. οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ  
 στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σίτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑπο-  
 ζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο  
 μικρὸν προΐοντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο,  
 τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 35 ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς  
 γέρροις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις·  
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι·  
 οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἐψοντες ἦσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν  
 ἡμέραν.

*Artaxerxes requires the Greeks to surrender their arms. Clearchus bids the other generals consider their answer.*

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν, καὶ ἔρχονται 40  
παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι  
βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἑλλήν, ὃς ἐτύγχανε  
παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσε-  
ποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλο-  
μαχίαν. οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν 45  
Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παρα-  
δόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεισθαι  
ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως  
κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ 50  
Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὄπ-  
λα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατη-  
γοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον  
ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω· ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπη-  
ρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. 55

*The generals confer with Phalinus, the chief envoy, who asserts the superior position of the king.*

Ἐνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὃ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος  
ὦν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοίησαν·  
Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλῖνε,  
θαυμάζω πότερα ὥς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὥς  
διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὥς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν 60  
αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται  
λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔαν αὐτῷ ταῦτα  
χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν  
ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις  
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, 65

ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι.

*Reply of Theopompus. Phalinus answers him scornfully. Others propose to enlist in the king's service.*

Μετὰ τούτου Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φάλινε, 70 οὖν, ὥς σὺ ὀρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἷον τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων 75 ἀγαθῶν μαχοῦμεθα. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φάλινος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δὲ τινες ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακισμένους, ὥς καὶ 80 Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιτο, εἰ βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαι τ' ἂν αὐτῷ.

*Clearchus bids Phalinus, as a Greek, advise them what to do.*

Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἡρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη ἀποκε- 85 κριμένοι εἶεν. Φάλινος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὔτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φάλινε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὀρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγ- 90 μασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλ-



λιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδούναι συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. 95 οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἅ ἂν συμβουλεύσης. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα συμβουλευῆσαι μὴ παραδούναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες.

100

*Phalinius urges the hopelessness of resistance. On the question of 'peace or war' Clearchus returns a guarded answer.*

Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπη 105 νατόν. Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ 110 ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προϋῶσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὥς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' 115 ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτά δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαὶ, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ

120 προϊούσι πόλεμος. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιούσι δὲ ἢ προϊούσι πόλεμος. ὅτι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε.

## CHAPTER II.

*Ariæus will not accept the crown. He offers to conduct the Greeks in their retreat. Clearchus still undecided.*

Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὥχετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος. Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνα-  
5 σχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέ-  
ναι, ἥκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρῶ-  
ἀπιέναι φησίν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' οὕτω χρή-  
ποιεῖν· ἔαν μὲν ἥκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρᾶτ-  
τετε ὅποῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅτι δὲ  
10 ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε.

*Clearchus addresses the army. 'Let us join Ariæus at once; we have no other choice.' They start under his command.*

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρα-  
τηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες,  
θυομένῳ ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ  
εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι,  
15 ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι να-  
σίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι.

πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἰέναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνιν καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. ὦδε οὖν χρή ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὃ τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ 20 σημήνῃ τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατογῇ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ 25 λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἦρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα ἔδει τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν.

*Distance computed from Ephesus to Babylon. Desertion of a commander. The Greeks make a covenant with Ariæus.*

Ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρα- 30 σάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θρᾷξ ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τεττάρ- 35 κοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίους ἡῆτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ ἀφικνούνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρ' Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα συνῆλ- 40 θον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρ' Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν ὅς τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι

45 ἀδόλως. ταῦτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον  
καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπ-  
τοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην.

*Ariæus proposes to take the Greeks by a different route homewards,  
in order to secure provisions and avoid the king's troops.*

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ  
Ἄριαίε, ἐπείπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπέ  
50 τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢνπερ  
ἦλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω.  
ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἦλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ  
λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπι-  
τηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ  
55 δεῦρο ἴοντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα  
δ' εἴτι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ'  
ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων  
οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθ-  
μοὺς ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὥς πλείστον ἀπο-  
60 σπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ  
δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται  
βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι  
οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνή-  
σεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
65 σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.

*Next day the Greeks make for some Babylonian villages, and  
ascertain that the king is encamped somewhere near.*

Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀπο-  
δρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον.  
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν  
ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς  
70 Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν. ἔτι



δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλῃν ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὄρᾱν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθρον· καὶ Ἀριαῖος, (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο,) καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἳ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἤκον λέγοντες οἳ προπεμφθέν- 75 τες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμονται. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγὺς πον ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κόμαις οὐ πρόσω.

*They reach the villages at nightfall, and alarm the enemy by shouting, who suddenly disappear.*

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγεν· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἦδη 80 δὲ καὶ ὁψὲ ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοίῃ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κόμας τοὺς πρῶτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. οἳ μὲν οὖν 85 πρῶτοι ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἳ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες ὥς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ἠγλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἳ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο 90 τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξέπλάγη δὲ, ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε.

*The Greeks in camp are seized with a panic, which Clearchus allays.*

Προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι 95 φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς

φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γενέσθαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην  
 Ἡλείου, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων παρ' ἐαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον  
 τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κατακηρύξαντα  
 100 ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον  
 εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυ-  
 ρίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. ἅμα δὲ  
 ὀρθρῶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι  
 105 τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

### CHAPTER III.

*The king proposes a truce. The Greeks refuse to negotiate fasting.*

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ,  
 τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ  
 ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι  
 κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς  
 5 τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτησαν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγ-  
 γελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις  
 ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας  
 περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν,  
 10 τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγ-  
 γέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων  
 καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέ-  
 λοις, ἀνηρώτα τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπον-  
 15 δῶν ἥκοιεν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τὰ τε παρὰ βασι-  
 λέως τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλή-

νων βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον.

20

*Guides are promised to shew them where they may get provisions.  
Clearchus consents to a truce on these terms.*

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλυνον, καὶ ἦκον ταχύ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς που βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἢ ἄλλος τις ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἦκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἕξουσι τὰ 25 ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μετασθησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι 30 ταχύ τε καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν κάμοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἕστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις 35 τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

*They cross canals and trenches full of water. Activity of Clearchus, who suspects that the trenches were purposely filled to intimidate the army.*

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, 40 καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις

καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρειςιν ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἳ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον.  
 45 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὥς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν αὐν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων·  
 50 ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπυδάξειν· καὶ ἐτάχθησαν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον ἑώρων σπυδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ  
 55 γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδῖον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλησι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι.

*They obtain provisions, and test the resources of the date-palm.*

Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνὴν δὲ σίτος πολὺς  
 60 καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσαι τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἣ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερε·  
 65 τὰς δὲ τινας ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές. ὁ δὲ  
 70 φοῖνιξ, ὅθεν ἐξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὅλος αὐαίνετο.



*Tissaphernes returns from the king. With many professions of friendship, he asks the object of their expedition.*

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε· 75  
 Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποίησάμην εἴ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε 80  
 πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ἱτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμεν, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, 85  
 ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλεύσεσθαι· ἐρέσθαι 90  
 δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα τίνας ἔνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ, ἐάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι.

*Reply of Clearchus. 'We have no hostile designs upon the king, now that Cyrus is dead. We wish to return home unmolested, but are prepared to resist any attack.'*

Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· 95  
 καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλ-

θομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντας οὔτε ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὔρισκεν, ὡς καὶ σὺ εἶ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι καὶ  
 100 ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ἥσυχνυθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτὸν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα βουλοίμεθα  
 105 ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἔαν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εἶ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εἶ ποιοῦντες.

*Tissaphernes engages, on certain conditions, to conduct the Greeks in safety. He then goes back to the king, promising to return again shortly.*

110 Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω, αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων  
 115 ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πάννυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶναι βασιλεῖ ἀφείναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. τέλος δὲ εἶπε, Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν  
 120 τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὑμᾶς δὲ αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς

σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, ὅποταν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχω-  
 μεν· ἣν δὲ παρέχουμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνούμενους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτή- 125  
 δεια. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδωσαν Τισσα-  
 φέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς, καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν  
 δὴ ἄπειμι ὥς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, 130  
 ἥξω συσκευασάμενος ὥς ἀπάζων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑμαντοῦ ἀρχήν.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The Greeks begin to mistrust Tissaphernes and Ariæus ; they confide  
 their suspicions to Clearchus.*

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἳ τε Ἕλληνες  
 καὶ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας  
 πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνουῦνται πρὸς Ἀρι-  
 αῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς 5  
 ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα  
 αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς  
 τῶν παροιχομένων. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν  
 οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦπτον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν  
 νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων 10  
 οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς, Τί μένομεν ; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα  
 ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιο,  
 ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα  
 μέγαν στρατεύειν ; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ 15

τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὶ δὲ πάλιν ἀλυσθῆναι αὐτῷ ἢ στρατιᾷ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτεριχίζει, ὥς ἀπορος εἶη ἢ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς  
 20 ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῖδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.

*Advice of Clearchus. 'Let us make a virtue of necessity; we cannot get away unaided, nor have we any positive reason for mistrusting the king.'*

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν  
 25 ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὖθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείψεται,  
 30 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ, ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέη, ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων  
 35 ἵππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλά ἔστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἶπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι  
 40 καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροις. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.



*Return of Tissaphernes. The retreat is begun. Mutual jealousies between the Greeks and Persians.*

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιὼν, καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχον- 45  
τος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντῃ καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείοις. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλή- 50  
λων παρασάγγην καὶ μείων· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφότεροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχεν. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρείχε. 55

*They pass within the Wall of Media, cross two canals, and arrive at Sittace on the Tigris.*

Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρήλθον εἴσω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὀκδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. 60  
ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δὲ ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· (αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους· τέλος 65  
δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίσσας) καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν·

πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἥ ὄνομα  
 Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίου πεντεκαίδεκα.  
 70 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παρα-  
 δείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων·  
 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα οὐ μέντοι κατα-  
 φανεῖς ἦσαν.

*Ariæus sends a warning message, which alarms Clearchus greatly.*

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν  
 75 ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός  
 τις ἠρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ  
 Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀρι-  
 αίου ὦν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν  
 ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἐπεμψέ  
 80 με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάοξος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν  
 εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς  
 νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ  
 πλησίον παραδείσῳ. καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος  
 85 λῦσαι Τισσαφέρους τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐὰν δύνηται, ὥς μὴ  
 διαβῇτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς  
 διώρυχος. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν  
 Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας  
 ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο.

*The report is sifted, and decided to be without foundation.*

90 Νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν ὥς οὐκ  
 ἀκόλουθα εἶη τὸ ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν.  
 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι·  
 ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ λύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν γέφυραν ;  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ, ἂν πολλὰ γέφυραι ᾧσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι

φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης 95  
 τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν  
 βοηθῆσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται  
 λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα  
 ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ  
 Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ 100  
 κῶμαι ἔννεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. τότε δὴ  
 καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν,  
 ὁκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείναιεν  
 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα,  
 ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν 105  
 μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασιο-  
 μένων ἐνόντων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀπόστροφὴ γένοιτο, εἴ τις  
 βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν.

*The Greeks cross the Tigris, the Persians watching their  
 movements closely.*

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν  
 ὁμῶς φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδα- 110  
 μόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων,  
 ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο,  
 διέβαινον τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ  
 ἑπτὰ ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον  
 γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων ὥς δια- 115  
 βαίνοντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῇ  
 ἦν· διαβαίνοντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ'  
 ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 εἶδεν, ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων.

*After crossing the Physcus, they march past Opis, displaying their  
 forces to the best advantage.*

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας 120

παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος  
 πλέθρον· ἐπὴν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὤκειτο πόλις  
 μεγάλη, ἥ ὄνομα Ὡπιδί· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν  
 ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ  
 125 Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὥς βοηθήσων βασι-  
 λεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχο-  
 μένους τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐθεώρει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο  
 μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος.  
 ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπι-  
 130 στήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 ματος γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ  
 αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δόξαι πάμπολυ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν  
 ἐκπεπληῆχθαι θεωροῦντα.

*They proceed through Media, plunder the villages of Parysatis,  
 and halt opposite Cænæ.*

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς  
 135 ἐρήμους ἕξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος  
 κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσα-  
 φέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν διαρπάσαι ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς Ἑλλήσι  
 πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνὴν δὲ σίτος πολλὸς καὶ πρόβατα  
 καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς  
 140 ἐρήμους τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν  
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὤκειτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα  
 Καιναί, ἕξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διήγουν ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθε-  
 ρίναις ἄρτους, τυροὺς, οἶνον.



## CHAPTER V.

*They arrive at the Great Zab. Increasing mistrust. Clearchus addresses Tissaphernes. 'My object in seeking this interview is to allay these suspicions, which are apparently unfounded.'*

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλέαρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ εἶπὼς δύναίτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας 5 πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψέ τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἑτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἤκειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγὼ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττό- 10 μενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες τὰῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθέσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα, 15 ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς· οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμο- 20 σύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἂν παύεσθαι, ἥκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς.

*'Firstly, our mutual oaths should be a safeguard against hostilities; next, all our hopes of deliverance depend upon you.'*

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι  
 κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων  
 25 σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὐποτ' ἂν εὐδαι-  
 μονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὐτ' ἀπὸ  
 ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὐτ' εἰς ποῖον  
 ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίῃ οὐθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀπο-  
 σταίῃ. πάντῃ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πανταχῇ  
 30 πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε  
 καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὗς ἡμεῖς τὴν φι-  
 λίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ  
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. σὺν  
 μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δια-  
 35 βατὸς, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα  
 μὲν διὰ σκότους ἢ ὁδός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα·  
 πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερὸς, φο-  
 βερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν·  
 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ  
 40 τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγισ-  
 τον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα;

*'In my own case, motives of self-interest are not wanting; you, on your part, will find us valuable allies.'*

Ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἷων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι,  
 εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. ἐγὼ  
 γὰρ Κῦρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν  
 45 τότε ἰκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο· σὲ δὲ νῦν  
 ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν  
 σαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἣ

Κῦρος πολεμία ἐχρῆτο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὖσαν. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοι φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔρῳ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα 50 ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι. οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαι- 55 μονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γινώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποῖα δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιό τῳ φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δέ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὥς δεσπό- 60 τῆς ἀναστρέφοιο ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἳ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἧς σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα τίς 65 οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων ὥς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν.

*Reply of Tissaphernes. 'You mistrust us wrongly, for we could destroy you if we chose, without any risk to ourselves.'*

Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη. Ἄλλ' ἡδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γινώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν 70 βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σταντῶ κακόνους εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλό- μεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως, ἐν ᾗ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν 75

ἱκανοὶ εἶημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; ἀλλὰ  
 χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦ-  
 μεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ  
 πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὁράτε ὑμῖν ὄντα  
 80 πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἕξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν  
 παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἕξεστι μὲν  
 ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὁπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλώμεθα μάχεσθαι;  
 εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ  
 ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. εἰ δ' ἐν πάσι τούτοις ἡττώ-  
 85 μεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστίν· ὃν  
 ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι,  
 ᾧ ὑμεῖς, οὐδ' εἰ πάννυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε, μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε.

*'This being so, to deal treacherously with you were an act of  
 wanton impiety. I need your support, and honestly desire to be  
 your friend.'*

Πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν  
 πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ  
 90 τούτων πάντων τούτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος  
 μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβείας, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχυρός;  
 παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ  
 ἔχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπι-  
 ορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράτ-  
 95 τειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ᾧ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε  
 ἡλίθιοι ἐσμεν. ἀλλὰ τί δὴ, ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 τούτῳ ἦλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἵτιος  
 τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κῦρος  
 ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ κατα-  
 100 βῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἰσχυρόν. ὅσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι  
 ὑμεῖς ἔστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ  
 οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ



ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

*Tissaphernes invites the generals to a conference. Clearchus, with four others, accepts the invitation.*

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῇ λέγειν· καὶ 105  
εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρ-  
χόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς  
ἄξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ  
Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λο-  
χαγοὶ ἔλθειν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας 110  
ὥς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. Ἐγὼ  
δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω  
ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω. ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ  
Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν  
ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὁ 115  
Κλεάρχος ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δηλὸς τ' ἦν πάνν  
φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακέϊσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν  
ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἰέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρ-  
νην οὗς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἳ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων, ὥς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλη- 120  
σιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλ-  
λοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγενημένον Τισσα-  
φέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβου-  
λεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν  
φίλος ᾗ Τισσαφέρνει. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλεάρχος ἅπαν 125  
τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς πα-  
ραλυποῦντας ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλε-  
γόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἰέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρα-  
τηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. ὁ δὲ Κλεάρχος  
ισχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατη- 130

γούς ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὥς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὥς διακόσιοι.

*The generals are apprehended. Consternation of the Greeks.*

*The Persians promise an explanation.*

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἶσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, 135 Μένων Θετταλὸς, Ἀγίας Ἀρκὰς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἔμεινον. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἳ τ' ἔνδον συνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες, 140 ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ, πάντας ἔκτεινον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τήν τε ἱππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες καὶ ὃ τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφιγνόουν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὰς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε 145 πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἤξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοχος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεύς ἔφη καὶ τὸν 150 Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀρᾶν καὶ γινώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλείως.

*Ariæus tells them that Clearchus has been put to death for breach of the truce, and that the king requires the surrender of their arms. Gleanor and Xenophon reply.*

155 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος

Στυμφάλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι  
 τὰ περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὼν ἐν  
 κώμῃ τινὶ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕστησαν  
 εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες 160  
 Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιорκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων,  
 ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθνηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι  
 κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν.  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί  
 φησιν, ἐπεὶ περ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου. πρὸς 165  
 ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ  
 Ὀρχομένιος· ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ'  
 ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους  
 καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει 170  
 τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς,  
 οἷς ὤμνυτε, ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδω-  
 κότες σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε; ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος  
 εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγέ-  
 νετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντῳ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς 175  
 σὺν τούτοις. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος  
 μὲν τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυσεν τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν  
 δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιорκοῦντας·  
 Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπεὶ περ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν  
 εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοὶ, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· 180  
 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσονται καὶ  
 ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευσαί. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ  
 βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπῆλθον  
 οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The five generals are taken away for execution. Character of Clearchus. His warlike tastes and love of adventure.*

Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμ-  
 5 πείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς  
 καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος  
 ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾷ-  
 κες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο  
 παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων, ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερ-  
 10 ρονήσου καὶ Περίνθου Θραξίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πῶς  
 οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπει-  
 ρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχεται  
 πλέων εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ  
 τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρ-  
 15 χεται πρὸς Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον  
 ἄλλη γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κῦρος μυρίους δαρει-  
 κούς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ  
 τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στρατεύμα· ἐπολέμει τοῖς  
 Θραξίν, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ  
 20 ἦγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι Κῦρος ἐδεήθη  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πο-  
 λεμήσων. ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα  
 εἶναι, ὅστις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἀνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ  
 βλάβης, αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βούλεται  
 25 πονεῖν, ὥστε πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν, ἀκινδύνως



αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκείνος δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν· πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὥς οἱ παρόν- 30  
τες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὁμολόγουν.

*The severity of his discipline secures the obedience, but not the attachment of his soldiers.*

Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὥς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἷον ἀκείνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπι- τήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖσαι 35 τοῖς παροῦσιν ὥς πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὀρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαζέ τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμῃ δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, 40 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὥς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπρο- φασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον 45 ἡρῶντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε παιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο· ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείῃ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, 50 πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὤμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. καὶ γὰρ

οὖν φιλία μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν·  
 55 οἷτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ  
 ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα  
 πειθομένοις ἐχρήτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα  
 εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς  
 60 πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου  
 τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει. τοιοῦτος  
 μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα  
 ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντή-  
 κοντα ἔτη.

*Character of Proxenus. A lover of justice and honour, but no  
 disciplinarian, and easily imposed upon by unprincipled men.*

65 Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὦν ἐπεθύ-  
 μει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ  
 ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεον-  
 τίνῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη  
 εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι  
 70 εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ  
 ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν  
 μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν  
 σφόδρα ἐνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν  
 θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ  
 75 καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή.  
 ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι  
 οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς  
 ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν  
 80 φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρα-  
 τιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ

ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν 85 ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

*Character of Menon. His love of gain made him thoroughly unscrupulous. Despising truth and sincerity he prided himself on his powers of deception, and made his soldiers the accomplices in his crimes. His fate is delayed for a year.*

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ 90 διδοίῃ δίκην. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομωτάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίῃ φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος 95 ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι 100 ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπα- 105 τᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῇ, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν αἰεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ, διαβάλλων

τοὺς πρῶτους τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ πει-  
 110 θομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου  
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλείστα δύναίτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν.  
 εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὁπότε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι  
 χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 115 ἀφανῇ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες  
 ἴσασι τὰδ' ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν  
 στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ  
 ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἦδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος  
 ὢν ἐγένετο. ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατῆγων, ὅτι  
 120 ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς  
 οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν  
 τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὅσπερ  
 τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν  
 125 ὥς ποιηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

*Notices of the two remaining generals.*

Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτῳ  
 ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς  
 κατεγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦστην δὲ  
 ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.



# NOTES.

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## CHAPTER I.

l. 1. Κύρω, not the agent, 'by Cyrus' (which is usually rendered by ὑπὸ with the genitive), but the *dativus commodi*, 'for Cyrus;' i. e. 'how Cyrus got his Greek force collected.' Cp. vi. 34, n.

τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, sc. στρατεύμα. Cp. τὸ ἵππικόν, τὸ πελταστικόν, &c.

l. 5. τὰ πάντα, 'completely.' The Greeks had only routed the Persian left wing and the king's body-guard (i. 8), but the king's troops had been victorious over the Greek left and centre, had put Ariaeus and the Asiatic force to flight, and had plundered their camp. In a second engagement, Clearchus, meeting the plunderers returning, had routed them entirely (i. 10).

l. 7. πέμποι, 'sent,' not 'would send.' The optative is properly used in dependent assertions, after ὅτι or ὥς, when the principal verb is in the past tense.

l. 10. ἕως συμμίξειαν, Lat. *donec* or *dum jungerentur*. ἕως, 'until,' with the optative after a verb in the past tense, denotes a future event, almost equivalent to a *purpose*. After a present tense it takes the subjunctive, usually with ἄν, as μένε ἕως (ἄν) ἔλθω, 'stay till I come.'

l. 12. Teuthrania was a district of Mysia, originally given to Damaratus, ancestor of Procles, by Darius I. Damaratus had been driven out of Sparta by the joint-king Cleomenes, and taken refuge at the court of Darius nearly a hundred years previously (B.C. 491).

l. 14. τέθνηκεν, the indicative instead of the regular optative after ὅτι (cp. l. 7, n.), stating a positive *fact*. But further on the optatives εἴη and λέγῃ are used to show that the statement may or may not be true. (See Farrar, *Greek Syntax*, § 189. ii).

πεφευγὼς . . . εἴη, 'had fled to the halting-place, and was (still) there.'

1. 15. ὥρμῶντο, imperfect, 'began their start.' But it has been proposed to read ὥρμηντο, 'had started.'

1. 17. τῇ ἄλλῃ, sc. ἡμέρᾳ, 'on the following day,' = τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.

ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, 'towards Ionia.' Ἐπὶ with the genitive of motion = 'towards,' lit. 'on the line of,' i. e. in a certain *direction*.

1. 18. ἦλθε, 'had come.' When a relative or adverbial clause occurs in the middle of a reported speech (*Oratio Obliqua*), a Greek writer uses the tense which the original speaker would have used. We, on the contrary, employ the pluperfect. Thus Ariaeus would say, 'I will return to Ionia, whence I *came*.' [Here however ὅθενπερ ἦλθε may be Xenophon's own statement, and not part of the reported words of Ariaeus].

1. 19. πυνθανόμενοι, 'on learning' it from the generals. The imperfect participle marks the gradual transmission of the news among the soldiers.

1. 20. ὥφελε, &c., lit. 'Cyrus *ought* to have been alive,' i. e. 'would that he were!' Ὁφελον often has ὥς or εἴθε prefixed to it, as ὥς ὥφελε in Homer, and Eur. *Medea*, I, εἴθ' ὥφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος. So the Latin *debere*, as in Ovid, *Heroides*, xii. 4 (quoted by Mr. Taylor)—  
'*Debuerant fusos evoluisse suos.*'

1. 23. εἰ μὴ ἦλθετε . . . ἐπορευόμεθα ἄν, 'if you *had* not come (aorist), we should *now* have been marching' (imperfect).

1. 25. καθιῆν, the proper Attic future for καθίσειν, the reading of some editions. Verbs in -ίζω (stem -ιδ), form the Attic future by dropping the σ and inserting ε, which is then contracted, as κομίζω (stem κομιδ-), future κομίσ-ω, [κομι-έ-ω] κομι-ῶ, mid. κομοῦμαι.

1. 26. νικῶντων, possessive genitive, 'is the privilege of the victors.'

1. 32. κόπτοντες, in apposition with the plural *notion* contained in στρατεύμα, the grammatical *form* of the word being disregarded. This is called a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, 'according to the *sense*,' and is very common. Cp. Eur. *Hecuba*, 39, where στρατεύμ' Ἑλληνικὸν is followed by the participle εὐθύνοντας, instead of εὐθύνον.

1. 33. φάλαγγος, the *spoi* on which they had fought. Φάλαγξ is properly a 'line' or array of battle, Lat. *acies*; here it is the ground or position occupied by the army during the late combat.

1. 35. ἐκβάλλειν, 'to empty out' from their quivers (Taylor).

1. 36. γέρροις καὶ . . . Αἰγυπτίαις. The γέρρα were 'wicker shields, spiked so as to be fastened in the ground while arrows were shot from behind them' (Grote). These, as well as the 'wooden shields reaching down to the feet,' carried by the Egyptian infantry, were mentioned in I. viii. 9.

1. 37. πέλται, light shields, or 'targets.' As applied to these, ἔρημοι means 'abandoned' by their owners, as applied to ἄμαξαι it means

'empty.' The waggons had been stripped of their contents by the enemy (I. x. 18).

φέρεσθαι, sc. ὥστε = *ut auferri possent*.

l. 40. πλήθουσιν ἀγοράν. See Lexicon. The Greeks got through their marketing and other business in the forenoon, devoting the midday and afternoon to rest and recreation.

l. 43. ἐντίμως ἔχων, 'held in esteem.' Ἐχειν with an adverb is nearly the same as εἶναι with the corresponding adjective, = 'to be' in a certain state. Lat. *se habere*.

l. 44. τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις, &c., i. e. the general organisation of troops in the field, and (especially) the training of hoplites. To secure the services of a Greek for this purpose was obviously important; indeed it was probably due to Phalinus' training, that in the late battle Tissaphernes and his cavalry stood their ground and charged the Greek peltasts, when the other Persians fled at the first onset (I. viii. 19, x. 7).

l. 46. ὅτι κελεύει. Here the present indicative is properly used in a reported speech, because the principal verb, λέγουσι, is in that tense; but even after a past tense the present indicative with ὅτι or ὡς is commonly used, instead of the optative. See ii. 100, n.

l. 48. βασιλέως θύρας. From this Eastern custom of the king sitting at the 'gates' of the palace to hear petitions and administer justice, αἱ θύραι became a phrase for the royal residence. So the Turkish court is styled 'the Porte' at the present day. (Macmichael, note on I. ix. 3).

εὐρίσκεσθαι, present infinitive, 'to try to obtain,' lit. 'find for themselves.' Ἄν = ἐάν, with δύνωνται, since ἄν, the conditional particle, never goes with the subjunctive, though its compounds, ἐάν, ὅταν, &c. always take that mood.

l. 51. τοσοῦτον, 'so much' and no more, = 'merely,' because he was called away (l. 54). Cp. τοσοῖδε, iv. 20, and see note there.

εἴη, the regular optative with ὅτι after past tense εἶπεν. Cp. l. 7, n.

l. 55. ἱερὰ, here the 'entrails,' *exta*, which were 'taken out' and inspected for the omens.

l. 57. παραδοίησαν, the best supported reading, instead of the more usual form παραδοίην. Cp. παρείησαν, vi. 56.

l. 59. ὡς κρατῶν, 'as the stronger party,' in opposition to διὰ φιλίαν, 'in a friendly way,' and to πείσας, 'by persuasion,' in the next sentence.

l. 61. λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα. So when Xerxes demanded the Spartan arms at Thermopylae, Leonidas is said to have returned the reply: 'Come and take them.'

l. 64. αὐτῷ, grammatically with ἔστιν, the so-called 'ethical,' dative,

'whom *has he*, &c. (vi. 34, n.);' but in sense also with ἀντιποιεῖται, 'to contend *with him* for the sovereignty.'

l. 65. αὐτοῦ, the possessive genitive, 'in his power.'

l. 66. ἔχων, 'since he has,' = ὅτι ἔχει. A participle, without the article, must often be rendered by a conjunction, such as 'when,' 'if,' 'because,' &c. (according to the sense), with the indicative of the verb.

l. 68. οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι . . . δύνασθε ἂν, 'even if he were to give you the chance, you would not be able,' &c. The four forms of a conditional sentence are (1) εἰ ἔστι, ἔστι, 'if it is, it is;' (2) ἐὰν ᾗ, ἔσται, 'if (ever) it be, it will be;' (3) εἰ εἴη, ἂν εἴη, 'if it were to be, it would be;' (4) εἰ ᾗν, ἂν ᾗν, 'if it had been, it would have been.' Above, l. 62, we had the second form τί ἔσται . . . ἐὰν χαρίσωνται.

l. 69. Θεόπομπος, not elsewhere mentioned. Others refer this speech to Xenophon, but Xenophon was not at this time an officer, only a volunteer (III. i. 4).

l. 71. ἂν belongs to the infinitive χρῆσθαι, it can never go with a present indicative. Ἄν, lit. 'in that case,' always implies an 'if,' hence = 'if we keep.' Cp. l. 66, n. So in the next clause ἂν goes with στερηθῆναι.

l. 77. λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα, said with a tinge of irony, 'that is a fine sentiment of yours!'

ἴσθι . . . ὦν, 'know that you are.' A participle after verbs of knowing, perceiving, &c., expresses a *fact*, thus οἶδα ὦν means 'I know that I am,' οἶδα αὐτὸν ὄντα, 'I know that he is.' Οἶδα εἶναι would mean 'I know *how* to be.'

l. 79. ὑπομαλακιζομένους, 'losing their courage,' lit. 'growing soft (μαλακός).' Ὑπὸ means 'gradually.'

ὥς ἐγένοντο, the indicative, not the optative, to emphasise the fact. Cp. ὅτι τέθνηκεν, l. 14, and note there.

l. 82. χρῆσθαι, sc. αὐτοῖς, 'to employ them on any other service.'

Αἴγυπτον. Egypt had revolted from Persia in the time of Darius II, and had set up a king of their own, Psammeticus. Cp. v. 56.

συγκαταστρέψαιντο, 'join in putting down' the revolt.

l. 84. ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν, the perfect of the *middle voice* ἀποκρίνομαι, 'I answer,' not the perfect *passive* of ἀποκρίνω, 'I separate,' though ἀποκρίμαι has this latter meaning also. The optative is used (as a past subjunctive) in a dependent question after an historical tense, Lat. 'rogavit, si *respondissent*.' After a primary tense the Greeks used the indicative, as ἐρωτῶ σε τί λέγεις (cp. l. 86 below), but in Latin 'rogo te quid *dicas*.'

l. 85. Οὗτοι . . . λέγει, lit. '(as for) these men, one says one thing, another says another,' instead of τούτων ἄλλος, &c. This construction, by which the *whole* is put in apposition with the *parts*, instead of being



in the genitive, is called the 'whole and part figure' (σχήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος). The verb may be either singular, as here (λέγει) in agreement with one of the parts, or plural as in Plato, *Charmides*, ἡρώτων ἄλλος ἄλλο.

1. 86. εἰπὲ τί λέγεις. In Latin this would be 'dic quid sentias.' Cp. 1. 84 n.

1. 88. οἱ ἄλλοι, the subject of ἐωράκασι, to be supplied from ἐώρακα preceding; οἶμαι being parenthetic, 'and so, I think, were the rest of us.'

1. 90. περὶ ὧν = περὶ τούτων ᾧ. The antecedent is omitted, and the relative 'attracted' into the case in which the antecedent would have stood, if expressed. This is only done when the relative would otherwise have been in the accusative.

1. 93. τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. Any verb coming between the article and its noun is equivalent to a defining adjective. Hence we have such convenient phrases as οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ὁ τότε βασιλεὺς, or simply οἱ νῦν, &c. Cp. 'thine *often* infirmities,' 1 Tim. v. 23.

ἀναλεγόμενον, 'repeated.' One of the meanings of ἀνά is 'back,' hence 'again,' as in ἀνακαλεῖν, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἀναστρέφειν, &c.

1. 95. Distinguish συμβουλεύειν (with dat.), 'to advise,' from συμβουλεύεσθαι, 'to get advice,' i. e. 'to consult.' Cp. διδάσκειν, 'to teach,' and διδάσκεσθαι (middle), 'to get anyone taught.'

1. 96. ἃ ἄν, 'whatever.' Ἄν cannot go with the subjunctive (1. 48 n.); therefore in such phrases as these it does not belong to the verb, but adds the indefinite force of 'ever' to the pronoun, adverb, &c., which it follows.

1. 97. ταῦτα ὑπήγετο, 'made this crafty suggestion,' lit. 'led him on craftily thus.' ταῦτα is the adverbial accus., not the direct object of ὑπήγετο. With ὑπὸ in this sense cp. our expression '*under*-hand.'

1. 98. αὐτὸν τὸν . . . πρεσβεύοντα, 'the *very* man who came as an envoy.' Distinguish αὐτὸν τὸν = *ipsum*, from τὸν αὐτὸν = *eundem*.

1. 101. ὑποστρέψας, 'evading' the question, as when a person 'turns sharp round' or 'dodges' his pursuer (Taylor).

παρὰ (with accus.), 'contrary to,' lit. 'passing by,' 'going beside' the mark, 'transgressing;' hence its meaning here.

1. 102. τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων, '*your* numberless hopes,' lit. '*the* hopes' which you may be entertaining.

1. 103. πολεμοῦντας, '*while* you continue,' or '*by* continuing in arms.' Cp. 1. 66 n.

1. 104. τοι, emphatic, 'if you *really* have, &c.' τοι is an old form of the dative τῷ = 'in fact,' and may often be rendered by a stress laid on some word in the sentence.

1. 106. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δή, &c., 'well, that is what *you* say.' Ἄλλὰ

makes an abrupt transition to the words of a new speaker. Cp. Il. 20, 58, 76. Δή marks the conclusion or summing up of what has just been said by Phalinus, 'this *then*, &c.'

l. 108. εἰ δέοι, 'if it *should* be necessary.' In a direct speech (*Oratio Recta*) this would be followed by the opt. (ἄξιοι ἂν εἶημεν) which here becomes the infin. (εἶναι) depending on οἰόμεθα, the ἂν retaining its conditional force. See the four individual forms, l. 68 n.

ἄξιοι, in apposition with ἡμεῖς (l. 107). When the subject of the infin. is the same as that of the principal verb, it is put in the nominative, not in the accusative, as in Latin. Οἰόμεθα ἂν ἄξιους εἶναι would mean 'we think that some *others* would be more valuable.'

l. 109. ἔχοντες, 'while,' or 'if we retain.' Cp. l. 66 n. So παραδόντες, and μένουσι, προΐουσι, &c. l. 113.

l. 111. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, 'this *then* &c.' Cp. l. 106 n.

l. 115. μενεῖτε (fut.), 'you will remain;' εἰσὶν (pres.), 'are to *continue*.' ὥς πολέμου ὄντος, &c., 'am I to report your answer *as meaning* war?' i. e. 'take back a message of war.' Ὡς, with a participle, draws attention to a fact supposed or implied, not stated directly. Cp. Eur. *Medea*, 1311, ὥς οὐκέτ' ὄντων σῶν τέκνων φρόντιζε δὴ, lit. 'on the supposition that your children are no more, (thus) consider the matter,' i. e. 'consider them to be no more.'

l. 123. διεσήμηνε, 'he did not intimate *distinctly*.' Διὰ = 'through,' or 'thoroughly;' hence 'completely,' 'precisely,' &c.

## CHAPTER II.

l. 1. οἱ παρὰ Ἀριαίου, a condensed expression, = 'those who had been sent to Ariaeus returned *from* him.' See i. 27.

l. 3. φαίη, the opt. in a reported speech after ἔλεγον. Cp. i. 7, n.

l. 4. οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι, &c., 'who would not suffer him to be king,' lit. 'put up with (hold up under) him as king.' Cp. Plato, *Apol. Socratis*, Ch. 18, ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων, 'to allow my domestic affairs to be neglected.' The accusative is more usual. Observe the infin. instead of the opt. (οἱ οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχοῖντο), 'who, *he said*, would not suffer.' So in Latin, as '[dixit] esse civem Romanum, quem a se retractum esse (for 'qui retractus esset'), Cicero, *in Verrem*, ii. v. 62; 'laudare utraque consilia, inter quae se lapsos victoriae possessionem mutasse (for 'lapsi mutassent') Livy, ix. 12.

l. 5. Note the sudden change to the *direct* form of speech in βούλεσθε. Cp. St. Mark vi. 8, 9, παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι μηδὲν αἵρωσιν . . . καὶ μὴ ἐνδύσησθε δύο χιτῶνας.

l. 6. τῆς νυκτὸς, gen. of time, properly denoting a period *within* which

something takes place. So 'of' was used in older English, as in Hamlet. i. 5, 'My custom always *of* the afternoon.' *Νυκτὸς* means generally 'by night,' *τῆς νυκτὸς*, 'on this particular night.'

*αὐτὸς*, 'by himself,' i. e. 'alone.' For the nom. with infin. referring to subject of sentence see i. 108 n.

l. 8. ὥσπερ λέγετε, sc. *χρῆ ποιεῖν*.

l. 9. ἄν with *ὅποιον*, 'whatever,' not with *οἷσθε*. Cp. i. 48 n.

l. 13. *ιέναι*, either after *θυομένῳ*, denoting the *purpose*, or after *ἐγίγνετο* (sc. *καλὰ*), denoting the *result* of the sacrifice.

l. 14. *εἰκότως ἄρα*, 'with good reason, *as it appears*,' or 'as the result has shown,' in reference to the fact narrated in the next clause. Cp. *Cyropaedia*, I. iv. 11, *ὥς ἄρα ἐφλυαροῦμεν*, 'how we did trifle, *as it appears*' (Madvig, *Syntax*, § 257).

l. 15. ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως, 'between us and the king,' lit. 'in the midst *as regards* us and the king' (gen. of respect).

*Τιγρὴς ποταμός*. This is supposed to mean a branch known as the Lesser Tigris, which was much larger then than it is now. A glance at the map will show that the Tigris proper cannot be intended.

l. 18. *ιέναι*. Cp. l. 13 n.

l. 21. *σημήνη*, sc. *ὁ σαλπίγκτης* ('the trumpeter').

*ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι*, 'as if for retiring to rest.' The usual signal for resting was to be given, in order to mislead the enemy.

*συσκευάζεσθε*, 'pack up,' lit. 'collect baggage' (*τὰ σκεύη*, which must be supplied after *ἀνατίθεσθε*); Lat. *vasa colligere*.

l. 23. *τῷ ἡγουμένῳ*, perhaps neuter (as Mr. Taylor takes it), 'the leading division;' but it may be masculine, 'the leader.'

*πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, 'next,' or 'on the side facing the river.' *Πρὸς* with the gen. marks a point as viewed at some distance *from* an object, as in Herodotus, ii. 121, *πρὸς βορρῶ ἐστεῶτα*, 'situated towards,' i. e. 'facing the north.' Lat. *versus*.

*ὅπλα* = *ὀπλίται*. Cp. VI. ii. 8, ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὅπλα ἐφαίνετο. So *arma* = *armati*, as in Livy, xli. 12, 'nulla apparuerunt *arma*.'

l. 30. *τῆς μάχης*, 'the battle-field;' i. e. Cunaxa, as Plutarch gives the name. Cp. V. v. 4, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης.

*σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα*. This is not in accordance with Xenophon's previous computation of distance. He reckons in all 84 *σταθμοί*, or days' marches from Sardis to Cunaxa, and from Ephesus to Sardis was a journey of three days, making 87 in all. There are thus 6 days' marches unaccounted for. Some think this section to be a later interpolation.

l. 33. *ἔλεγοντο στάδιοι*, for *ἐλέγετο σταδίου εἶναι*, 'it was said that there were, &c.' But the personal construction is more usual; cp. I. x. 1, *τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ*. *Σταθμοὶ* were 'halt-



ing-places,' or 'stages,' at certain distances along the road, varying in length according to the nature of the ground, but averaging 16 or 17 miles. Hence *σταθμός* may be translated 'a day's march.' The *stadium* was about an English furlong. The *parasang* varied in different parts of Asia (like English, Irish, or German miles), but was usually about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Xenophon's *parasang* seems to be a measure of *time* rather than of distance, since we find him reckoning the whole march by *parasangs*, even over the most difficult ground, and where he could have had no means of measuring it. Hence it is supposed that he calculated this part of the journey by the *time* it had taken to march a certain number of *parasangs* along a measured road, such as that between Sardis and Cilicia. (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxix. note.)

l. 35. *τοὺς ἱππέας*. These were all they had ; afterwards (III. iii. 20) they found it necessary to organise a new cavalry force.

l. 38. *τὸν πρῶτον σταθμόν*, where they had passed the last night but one before the battle (I. x. 1), about 14 miles from the field.

l. 40. *νύκτας*. The plural marks the separate divisions or *hours* of the night.

*θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα*, 'drawing up the men under arms' (*ἐν τάξει*), so as to be ready for action, if required. *Θέσθαι ὄπλα*, lit. 'to place arms,' means (1) 'to take up a position' before a battle ; (2) 'to pile,' or 'to ground arms,' when resting or halting ; (3) sometimes 'to lay down arms,' in token of surrender. (Macmichael, I. v. 14, note.)

l. 43. *μήτε προδώσειν . . . σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι*, lit. 'both not to betray, &c., and to be allies' ; i. e. 'not only to refrain from treachery, but also, &c.' So in Latin, an affirmative is joined to a negative clause *neque . . . que* or *et*.

l. 45. *ταῦρον*, &c. The bull, boar, and ram were commonly sacrificed by the Greeks on solemn occasions, especially to ratify oaths. These sacrifices were called *τριττύα*, and correspond to the Roman *suovetaurilia* at lustrations. The wolf was considered by the Persians as the son and image of 'Ahrimanes,' the evil spirit ; but as there were no wolves in Babylonia, it is difficult to see how they could have got one for this occasion (Grote, ch. lxix. note).

l. 46. *εἰς ἀσπίδα*, 'over a shield,' i. e. so as to let the blood run into it. Cp. IV. iii. 18, *ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν*.

l. 50. *ἦν περ*, sc., *ὁδὸν*, from next clause. The accusative denotes the measure of space over which the action of the verb extends, here the *road* along which they went. Cp. *ὁδοῦ ἦν ἦλθον*, l. 29 ; *σταθμούς πορευτέον*, l. 58.

l. 52. *ἀπιόντες* = *εἰ ἀπίοιμεν*. Cp. ll. 66 and 68, n.

l. 53. *ὑπάρχει ἡμῖν*, 'we have by us.' *ὑπάρχειν* is lit. 'to be from the beginning,' hence *ὑπάρχει μοι*, 'I have something to start with,' i. e. 'have a supply' of anything.



l. 54. **σταθμῶν**, &c., ‘during the last 17 stages.’ This gen. of the space, *within* or *over* which the movement is made, is closely allied with the gen. of time in such phrases as **νυκτὸς** (l. 6, n.), **δέκα ἡμερῶν**, ‘within ten days,’ l. vii. 18, &c.

l. 56. **κατεδαπανήσαμεν**, ‘we quite consumed it.’ **Κατὰ**, lit. ‘down,’ (cp. English *downright*) has the intensive force of ‘entirely,’ ‘utterly,’ like the Latin *de* in *devincere*, *debellare*, &c.

l. 57. **μακροτέραν μὲν**, &c., ‘a longer route, but *one in which* we,’ &c.

l. 58. **σταθμούς**. For the accus. cp. l. 50, n.

l. 61. **δύο . . . ἡμερῶν**. **Δύο** is often undeclined. Cp. VI. i. 9, **ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων**.

**οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται**, ‘will *certainly* be no longer able.’ **Οὐ μὴ**, with the subj., gives an emphatic denial, and is generally explained by supposing an ellipse of some phrase like **δέος ἐστὶ**, = ‘there is no *fear* lest, &c.’ This **δέος** is sometimes expressed, but we cannot certainly say that it is ‘understood’ when not expressed. All we know about the matter is that **οὐ** denies *objectively* (as it is called) i. e. denies a fact in itself, **μὴ** denies *subjectively*, i. e. the fact as conceived in the mind of the speaker. Hence a combination of the two kinds of denial in a single phrase would give the strongest possible form of negation.

l. 65. **σπανιεῖ**. For this ‘Attic’ future cp. i. 25, n.

l. 66. **ἦν δυναμένη**, ‘amounted to,’ or ‘was equivalent to;’ from the arithmetical sense of **δύναμαι**, as denoting equal value. Cp. I. v. 6, **ὁ σίγλος δύναται ἐπτά ὀβολοὺς**, ‘the *siglus* is equal to seven obols.’

l. 67. **ἀποδρᾶναι** is ‘to get away,’ so as not to be *found*, like runaway slaves who keep in hiding; **ἀποφυγεῖν**, ‘to get away,’ so as not to be *caught*, like prisoners of war who escape to their own land. Hence **ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν**, = ‘to escape by stealth or openly.’

l. 68. **ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον**. According to Mr. Grote, this indicates an easterly (possibly a north-easterly) route, referring not ‘to the precise point or the precise instant’ of the sun’s rising, but to ‘the general direction of the day’s march.’ Had the Greeks gone due north they would not have hit upon the enemy, nor reached any Babylonian villages (*Hist. of Greece*, cp. lxx. note).

l. 70. **τοῦτο**, ‘herein,’ acc. of respect.

l. 71. **δείλην**, sc. **πρωϊαν**. **Δείλη**, ‘the afternoon,’ was divided into **πρωτα**, ‘early,’ and **ὀψία**, ‘late.’ Below (l. 81) we have **ὀψὲ ἦν**, and afterwards **ἡλίφ δυομένῳ** and **σκοταῖδι** (ll. 82, 87).

l. 72. **οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον** = ‘*such as* happened not to be’ (indefinite). **Οἳ οὐκ ἔτυχον** would imply that some particular soldiers were referred to.

l. 76. **εἰσὶν**, the ind. after **ὅτι** marks the fact as certain; **νέμονται**, the opt., states what might or might not be true. Cp. i. 14, n. Although **ὑποζύγια** is a *neuter* plural, the verb **νέμονται** is in the plural, contrary to

the usual rule. This brings out more strongly the notion of *plurality*, i. e. draws attention to the *number* of animals grazing.

l. 80. ἀπειρηκότας, 'worn out with fatigue.' Ἀπειπεῖν, lit. 'to say off,' i. e. 'to say no,' 'to say that we can do no more;' hence, 'to be tired out.' For the participle after ἤδει, where the infin. would be used in Latin, cp. i. 77, n.

l. 81. οὐ μέντοι = *neque tamen*; μέντοι answers to μὲν in l. 79, and is somewhat stronger than δέ. The οὐδὲ following adds the force of 'even,' 'not even (then).' Observe that a double negative in Greek does not make an affirmative, as in English, but a stronger negative; thus οὐδ' οὐδεὶς is 'not even a single person.' Cp. iv. 110, n.

l. 83. ἐγγυτάτω, an adverb, but here equivalent to an epithet of κώμας. Cp. i. 93, n. Below (l. 89) we have the other form of the superlative, ἐγγύτατα.

l. 85. Distinguish αὐτὰ τὰ = *ipsa* from τὰ αὐτὰ = *eadem*.

l. 87. σκοταῖοι, 'in the dark,' (Eng. *darkling*). So τριταῖος, τεταρταῖος, 'on the third,' or 'fourth day.' Cp. Virg. Aen. viii. 465, 'Aeneas se *matutinus* agebat,' 'was stirring early.' So Wordsworth has 'the *nightly* hunter,' for 'the hunter by night.' (Farrar, *Greek Syntax*, § 69).

ἠυλίζοντο, 'proceeded to,' or perhaps 'made shift to quarter themselves,' the imperf. denoting *incompleted* action. In ἐποίουν it marks continuance, 'kept up a noise.'

ll. 89, 90. ὥστε . . . ἄκουειν } ὥστε, with the infinitive, expresses a result necessarily following from the principal verb,—'they made so much noise *as to make* the enemy hear;' with the indicative it states the result merely as a matter of *fact*,—'so that,' or 'consequently they fled.' In Latin the first would be '*ita ut* audirent;' the second, '*itaque* fugerunt.' Hence with the infin ὥστε often denotes a purpose, or *expected* result. Cp. ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν, iii. 9.

πολεμίων, the partitive gen. after οἱ μὲν, not dependent on ἐγγύτατα.

l. 92. οὔτε . . . οὐδὲν . . . οὐδαμοῦ. Cp. l. 81, n.

l. 94. οἷς = τοῦτοῖς ᾤ. Cp. i. 90, n.

l. 99. τῶν τότε. Cp. i. 93, n.

l. 100. Ὅτι is often used to introduce the actual words of the speaker (*Oratio Recta*), where in English we omit the 'that.' So here, 'he ordered him to make a proclamation (to this effect)—"The generals give notice, &c."' This is the usual construction in the New Testament; e. g. Mark v. 35, λέγοντες, ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἀπεθάνε, 'saying, "Thy daughter is dead."'

τὸν ὄνον, &c. This seems to have been a clever device of Clearchus to reassure the soldiers, by making them think an ass had got into the camp and caused the disturbance. Mr. Grote supposes it was 'a stand-

ing military jest, to make the soldiers laugh at their past panic.' τὰ ὄπλα means the place where the arms were piled in camp, hence 'the camp,' or 'quarters.'

l. 104. εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι. Cp. l. 40, n.

l. 105. ἥπερ εἶχον, 'in the order in which they had been.' For εἶχεν, with adverbs, = 'to be' in a certain state or position. See i. 43, n.

### CHAPTER III.

l. 3. ἐκέλευε, 'he *was* ordering,' or 'we *saw* him ordering.' The imperf. is descriptive, the historian placing himself, as it were, in the midst of the facts he relates.

l. 8. σχολάσῃ, instead of σχολάσειε, the opt. in a dependent sentence after past tense εἶπε (cp. i. 7, n). The subj. is the mood which Clearchus himself would have used (μένετε ἄχρις ἂν σχολάσω), and the historian to make his narrative as *graphic* as possible (see preceding note) keeps the mood, altering only the person of the verb.

l. 9. ὥστε . . . πυκνήν, lit. 'so that it should be well ordered for a close array to be seen on all sides'; i. e. 'so as fairly to present the appearance of a close array.' For καλῶς εἶχεν see i. 43, n.; for ὥστε with infin., marking a purpose, ii. 89, n. The word φάλαγξ (probably akin to our 'pale,' 'pole') of itself means simply 'array,' or 'line' of battle (*acies*), as contrasted with κέρασ, 'column,' or marching order. The addition of πυκνήν shows that the men were placed nearer together than usual on this occasion, so as to make a most imposing show. Our notion of the 'phalanx,' as a *compact* body of men, comes from the later and more celebrated Macedonian phalanx, which was so arranged,

l. 10. ἀόπλων, i. e. wearing no *defensive* armour, such as the cuirass, greaves, and heavy shield of the ὀπλίται. They were called ψιλοὶ or γυμνήται, and the πελτασταί, with their light armour and small shields, formed an intermediate class.

l. 13. ταῦτὰ ἐφρασεν, 'told them to do the same.' Φράζειν is not exactly the same as λέγειν, but means 'to point out,' Lat. *indicare*, hence 'to intimate' something to be done, 'give orders.'

l. 14. βούλονται, the regular opt. (for which the indic. is often used in *graphic* narration, cp. l. 8, n.), in a dependent question after a principal verb in the past tense, Lat. *rogavit quid vellent*.'

l. 15. ἤκοιεν, the opt. in *Oratio Obliqua*, cp. i. 7, n. But the indic. ἔσονται, which follows, is a return to the direct mode of speech for the reason stated above (l. 8, n.).

οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται, 'with full powers.'



l. 19. ὁ τολμήσων (ἔστι), lit. 'there is not the man who will venture,' i. e. 'no one will venture.' Lat. *non erit qui audeat*. Cp. iv. 27, ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται.

μὴ πορίσας, 'unless he provide,' = ἐὰν μὴ πορίσῃ. Οὐ πορίσας would mean 'not having (as a matter of *fact*) provided.' Cp. i. 66, n. This bold message is in pursuance of the policy of Clearchus, to impress the king with a sense of the resoluteness and intrepidity of the Greek army, as well as of their good discipline. See above, l. 9.

l. 25. γένωνται . . . ἄξουσιν . . . ἔξουσιν. Another instance of a change to the direct mode in a reported speech introduced by ὅτι.

l. 26. αὐτοῖς, 'only,' in apposition to τοῖς ἄλλοις. For αὐτοῖς = μόνος cp. ii. 6, n., and Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 255, ἄπιμεν οἴκαδ' αὐτοί, 'we will go home *by ourselves*.' Τοῖς ἀνδράσι are probably the Greek messengers: ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν, 'while going (to the king), and returning.' Others refer τοῖς ἀνδράσι to the party going to get provisions. The subject of σπένδοιτο is βασιλεύς.

l. 29. μεταστησάμενος, 'bidding them withdraw.' Μετὰ denotes a *change* of place, hence departure, as in μεταβαίνειν, μετάγειν, &c. Cp. vi. 10, n.

l. 30. ἐδόκει, &c., 'the opinion was in favour of concluding the truce.' A *final* resolution would have been expressed by the aorist ἔδοξε. Below (l. 36) ἐδόκει is rather indefinite, 'when it seemed to be *about* the time' (Macmichael).

l. 34. ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν, 'we should refuse.' Ἀπὸ, lit. 'away from,' = a negative. Cp. ἀπειπεῖν, ii. 80, n.

l. 37. σπένδοιτο, lit. 'was making,' i. e. 'consented to make a truce,' not 'would make.' It is merely the opt. in *Oratio Obliqua* after ἀπηγγέλλεν, introduced by ὅτι. Cp. i. 7, n.

l. 39. τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς, &c., i. e. 'though he was about to conclude the truce, *still* he kept his army in battle array.' Others read ποιησάμενος, which agrees better with what was related in l. 25, that the settlement of the truce was to be a *condition* of their obtaining provisions (ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται).

l. 41. ὠπισθοφυλάκει. Compound verbs not made with prepositions are formed from names *already compounded*, and generally end in -έω, as ὀπισθο-φυλακέω, from ὀπισθο-φύλαξ, ναυ-μαχέω, from ναύ-μαχος, &c. So in l. 45 below, ἐπεστάτει (ἐπιστατέω) is formed from the intermediate noun ἐπιστάτης, not from ἵστημι, which makes ἐφ-ίστημι when compounded with ἐπί. But prepositions usually form compounds with the simple verbs, as προσ-μάχομαι, δια-φυλάττω, &c.

l. 42. τάφρους καὶ αὐλῶσιν, 'trenches and ducts.' By means of the latter water was conveyed from the canals (διώρυχες), dug between the Tigris and Euphrates, into the trenches to be used for irrigating the



land. There were four such canals, 'very broad and deep' (I. vii 14), and crossed by bridges. See iv. 62-66.

ὥς with infin. = ὥστε, marking a necessary consequence, 'so that they could not.' Cp. ii. 89, n.

l. 43. ἐποιοῦντο (imperf.) 'they set about making' (Taylor).

l. 44. ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, not quite the same as ἐπεπτώκεσαν, 'had fallen,' but = 'were lying there after having fallen.' Cp. πεφευγὼς εἶη, i. 14.

l. 45. ἦν καταμαθεῖν, 'it was worth while to notice.' Cp. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν (l. 62) = *licet videre*.

Κλέαρχον, put as the object of καταμαθεῖν, instead of being the nom. to ἐπεστάτει, as it would be in English. This is the regular construction after verbs of knowing, perceiving, &c. Cp. Luke iv. 34, οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, where our version translates literally 'I know *thee* who thou art.' So Cicero says, 'nosti *Marcellum* quam tardus sit,' 'you know how dilatory *Marcellus* is.' Cp. iv. 37.

l. 46. βακτηρίαν, 'a staff,' such as Spartan officers usually carried (Thuc. viii. 84). So a Roman centurion had a vine wand (*vitis*). Plutarch tells how the Spartan Eurybiades raised his staff against Themistocles in the heat of debate before the battle of Salamis, whereupon the Athenian exclaimed, 'Strike, but hear me!'

l. 48. τὸν ἐπιτήδειον, 'the one who was in fault,' lit. 'the *proper* man;' Lat. 'poenae idoneum,' = 'poena dignum.'

ἐπαίσειεν αὐν, 'would strike him,' i.e. as often as there was occasion to do so. The indic. shows that such cases actually did occur, the aorist (not being the imperf.) marks the action as completed in a particular moment of time.

l. 49. προσελάμβανεν, sc. τοῦ ἔργου, 'took part in;' lit. 'put [his hand] to' the work, *manum operi admovebat*.

l. 50. μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξειν. A negative, expressed or implied, in the primary clause must in Greek be balanced by another negative in the dependent clause, as ἀρνούμαι μὴ πεποιηκέναι, 'I deny having done it.' If then there is already a 'not' in the second clause, a *double* negative μὴ οὐ must be used. Thus αἰσχύνην εἶναι ('they were ashamed,' = 'they did *not* like') is followed by μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξειν, where we should say 'they were ashamed *not* to help.' [Another use of μὴ οὐ is after a *double* negative in the primary clause, as οὐκ ἀρνούμαι τὸ μὴ οὐ πεποιηκέναι, 'I do not deny having done it.' Here the μὴ (as before) balances the negation implied in ἀρνούμαι, and the οὐ balances the οὐκ before ἀρνούμαι. These two uses of μὴ οὐ must be carefully distinguished.]

l. 51. τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες. Cp. Lat. *triginta annos natus*, the accus. denoting length of time.

l. 55. οἷα, sc. *τοιαύτη*, 'the proper season for watering,' or 'to water.' The Greek infin. corresponds very closely in its uses with the English; in Lat. this would be '*tempus irrigandi agros*,' or '*quo irrigandi essent agri*.' The regular time was summer, but this was the beginning of September.

ἤδη, 'at once,' i. e. 'at the outset.' If the suspicions of Clearchus were well founded, it was bad policy on the king's part to throw difficulties in the way of the retreat; for as long as the Greeks remained in the fertile Babylonian district they would be dangerous. We find however (Chap. iv.) that the Persians used efforts to get them out of Babylonia with all speed.

l. 60. ὄξος ἐψητόν. Herodotus (i. 193) mentions a syrup (μέλι) obtained from the date-palm by boiling. This, after fermentation, would produce what Xenophon calls ὄξος, 'vinegar,' or 'acid drink.' Ἐψητός is the verbal adj. of ἔψω, as if from a pres. ἐψέω (fut. ἐψήσω, &c.). The regular verbal adj. is ἐφθός.

l. 61. αὐταὶ αἱ βάλανοι, 'as to the dates themselves [such of them] as one may see,' &c. The whole, αἱ βάλανοι, is put in apposition with its parts [τοῖαι μὲν] οἷας &c., instead of being in the genitive. This is called the 'whole and part figure.' Cp. i. 85, n.

l. 62. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, cp. l. 45, n.

l. 63. ἦσαν, not to be taken with ἀποκείμενοι, but as the *copula*, ἀπόλεκτοι being the *complement* of the sentence,—'those which were put aside, &c. were choice ones.' The proper 3rd plural of the pluperf. is ἀπέκειντο (l. 62). Ἀποκείσθαι is used as the passive of ἀποτίθημι.

l. 64. τοῦ κάλλους, &c., gen. of respect, 'remarkable *for* their beauty and size.'

l. 66. παρὰ πότον ἡδύ, 'a pleasant relish *with* (lit. 'beside,' i. e. 'during the time of') their drink.' So παρὰ πόλεμον, 'in war time;' παρ' ἡμέραν, 'by day,' &c. The neuter ἡδύ refers not to any preceding word, but to the general sense, 'this food was, &c.'

l. 67. ἐγκέφαλον, lit. 'brain,' here the 'cabbage' (as it is called) of the palm, a sort of bud at the top of the tree, 'composed of the rudiments of the future leaves enveloped in the footstalks of the actual leaves' (Sir J. Banks). Modern travellers have observed the delicacy of its flavour, as well as the after effects which Xenophon here describes.

l. 68. ἰδιότητα, 'peculiarity,' from ἴδιος, 'one's own,' hence 'peculiar' (Lat. *proprius*), whence we speak of the 'property' of a thing.

l. 70. ἐξαιρεθείη. The opt. marks indefinite frequency = 'from *whichever* tree the top was removed.' Cp. I. v. 2, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, 'whenever anyone pursued them,' i. e. any number of times.

l. 72. βασιλέως γυναικός, Statira, afterwards poisoned by Parysatis the king's mother.

l. 76. γείτων τῇ Ἑλλάδι. The satrapy of Tissaphernes, comprising the South-western part of Asia Minor (Caria), was near the Greek towns on the coast, and over against Greece itself.

l. 78. εὔρημα, 'a piece of good fortune' (Macmichael). Lit. 'something found' unexpectedly. Cp. our 'treasure-trove,' from French *trouver* (εὐρίσκειν).

ποιεῖσθαι (middle), lit. 'make for oneself,' or 'in one's mind,' i. e. 'consider.'

l. 80. ἄν, with εἶχειν, not with οἶμαι. Cp. i. 71, n. 'I think that this would be no ungrateful service.' For εἶχειν with adverb = εἶναι cp. i. 43, n.

ll. 82, 83. The first ὅτι = 'that,' the indirect statement after λέγων; the second ὅτι = 'because.'

l. 83. πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα. Cp. I. i. 3. Xenophon represents this information as in the first instance false (διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον), but says that Cyrus being disgraced (ἀτιμασθεὶς) on account of the charge, began the revolt in consequence.

l. 85. οὐκ ἔφυγον. Cp. I. x. 7, and i. 44, n.

l. 87. ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε. In the account of the battle (I. viii. 27) it is not said that Artaxerxes slew Cyrus with his own hand, but according to Plutarch he seems to have taken the credit of having done so (Taylor).

l. 92. συμβουλευώ. Cp. i. 95, n.

l. 96. ἔλεγε, 'was the spokesman.' Cp. v. 166.

l. 97. ὥς, with fut. part., denotes a purpose, 'intending to, &c.'

ἐπορευόμεθα (imperf.), 'nor did we start with the intention of going against the king.' How Cyrus led on the Greeks from one point to another, till it was too late to retrace their steps, is told in Book I. ii-iv.

l. 101. θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, 'in the face of gods and men.' Many verbs otherwise intransitive (especially if they express feelings or states of mind) take an accusative of the object *towards which* the emotion is directed. Thus αἰσχύνεσθαι θεοὺς means literally 'to be ashamed *regarding* the gods' as witnesses of one's conduct. So also ὀμνυμι τοὺς θεοὺς, 'I swear *by* (i. e. with regard to) the gods.'

l. 102. παρέχοντες, &c., sc. αὐτῷ, lit. 'presenting ourselves for him to benefit (us),' i. e. 'when we allowed ourselves to receive benefits from him.' Παρέχειν = Lat. *praeberere*, 'to hold forward,' 'put oneself at any one's disposal,' hence 'to furnish,' 'supply,' &c., as in l. 113 below.

l. 104. ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς. Cp. i. 64, n.

ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα, lit. 'is there (anything) on account of which,' i. e. 'is there any reason why.'

l. 106. πορευοίμεθα ἂν . . . εἴ τις, &c. See the four forms of a conditional sentence, i. 68, n.

l. 107. ἀδικῶντα = εἰάν τις ἀδίκη. Cp. i. 66, n.



1. 108. ἀμύνασθαι, in middle with accus. 'to avenge ourselves upon,' or 'punish him.' Ἀμύνειν in the active, with dat. of person, is 'to defend' anyone, lit. 'ward off' harm from him.

ὑπάρχει, here in its literal sense of 'begin;' whence its other meanings are derived. Cp. ii. 53, n. 'If any one *first* does us good,' or 'sets the example.'

1. 109. τούτου, gen. after ἡττησόμεθα, 'we will not be beaten by him,' or 'be behind him' in doing good in return. Cp. vi. 69.

1. 113. εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, &c., as we should say 'up to,' or 'by the next day he *had* not arrived.' Ἦκω, is 'I have come,' therefore ἦκον = a pluperfect.

1. 114. ὥστε with indic. expresses the result as a matter of fact, not an intended result. Cp. ii. 89, n.

ἐφρόντιζον, 'began to be anxious.'

1. 115. διαπεπραγμένος, 'having accomplished his purpose.' The so-called perf. passive has often a middle (i. e. a transitive), sense, as γέγραμμαι, 'I have made a note of it;' ἐπιδέδειγμαι, 'I have displayed;' παρεσκεύασμαι, 'I have provided myself with' a thing. Here δοθῆναι is the object of διαπεπραγμένος.

1. 117. Distinguish ἀφείναι, 2 aor. infin. of ἀφίημι, from ἀπείναι, pres. infin. of ἄπειμι, *absum*.

1. 119. ἦ μὲν, 'verily,' introduces the words of a solemn oath.

φιλίαν, predicative, 'that we will make the district friendly.' This is shown by the position of the article; thus ὁ καλὸς παῖς = 'the handsome boy,' but καλὸς ὁ παῖς, or ὁ παῖς καλὸς = 'the boy (is) handsome.' So in the accus. καλὸν ὁρῶ τὸν παῖδα = 'I see the boy (to be) handsome;' but ὁρῶ τὸν καλὸν παῖδα, 'I see the handsome boy.'

1. 121. ὅπου μὴ ᾔ, 'wherever it is not possible, &c.' Cp. I. v. 6, πρίσθαι οὐκ ᾔν.

1. 123. πορεύεσθαι. The pres. infin. instead of the future (cp. παρέξειν, l. 116) may be explained either by supposing that πορεύεσθαι, like ἵεναι, contains in itself a future meaning, or (as Mr. Taylor thinks) by reference to the fact that the march begins at once.

διὰ φιλίας, sc. χάρας.

1. 125. ὠνουμένους, 'by purchasing them.' Cp. i. 66, n.

1. 126. δεξιᾶς, 'pledges,' to give the right hand being the simplest and most natural token of an agreement. Cp. iv. 5.

1. 130. ὡς, as a preposition, is only used with names of persons, and sometimes with the name of a place standing for its inhabitants. As the conjunction ὡς is commonly prefixed to πρὸς, εἰς, &c., with the accusative, it came to be used alone instead of these prepositions. (Clyde, *Greek Syntax*, § 59, Obs. 1b.)



ἐπειδὴν = ἐπειδὴ ἂν, 'as soon as.' Compounds of ἂν take the subjunctive; with the aorist they have the force of 'shall have;' Lat. 'ubi negotium *perfecero*.'

l. 131. συσκευασάμενος. Cp. ii. 21, n.

ὥς ἀπάξων. Cp. l. 97, n.

l. 132. τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν. Cp. l. 76, n.

## CHAPTER IV.

l. 1. περιέμενον Τισσαφέρην, &c. During this interval Artaxerxes celebrated his victory at Babylon, and rewarded Tissaphernes for his services by giving him his daughter to wife (l. 44), and the satrapy which Cyrus had held.

l. 5. δεξιὰς, 'assurances.' Cp. iii. 126, n. So in Latin *dextras ferre, tendere*, &c. 'to offer pledges of friendship.'

l. 6. μὴ μνησικακήσειν, 'that he would bear them no grudge.' For the construction cp. v. 10, δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν.

l. 7. τῆς ἐπιστρατείας, gen. of respect, 'for their marching against him.'

μηδὲ . . . μηδενός. Cp. ii. 81, n.

l. 8. ἐνδηλοι ἦσαν . . . προσέχοντες, &c. 'evidently began to pay less attention, &c.' Δῆλος (or φανερός) ἔστι ποιῶν = 'it is evident that he is doing,' or 'he is evidently doing;' the personal construction being preferred in Greek.

l. 11. ἔλεγον. Observe the change of subject from οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον to οἱ Ἕλληνες (supplied from l. 10), with which προσιόντες is in apposition.

l. 13. ἂν περὶ παντός ποιήσαιτο, 'would esteem it an all-important matter;' i. e. 'would desire above all things.' So περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, Lat. *magni facere*.

l. 15. ὑπάγεται, 'is craftily inducing us.' Cp. i. 97, n.

l. 16. αὐτῷ, the *dativus commodi* (or rather *incommodi*), or 'ethical' dative, 'because *he* finds his army dispersed.' Cp. i. 1, 64, n.

l. 17. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ, &c., 'he will inevitably attack us,' lit. 'it is not (possible) that he will not, &c.' Lat. '*fieri non potest quin*.'

l. 18. ἀποσκάπτει ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, 'is cutting off (ἀπὸ) our retreat by some trench or wall.'

l. 19. εἴη. Some read ᾗ, the usual mood after a principal verb in a primary tense (ἀποτειχίζει). But the opt. marks the design as existing in the mind of the *king* rather than in that of the Greeks, and also the improbability of its ever being successful, = 'if so be that our way might be made impassable.'

l. 20. τοσοῦτε ὄντες, 'so few as we are.' Cp. τοσοῦτον, i. 51, n.

l. 21. ταῖς θύραις. Cp. i. 48, n.

l. 24. ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν, &c., 'though I feel the force of all that you say, 'ἐννοῶ δὲ,' still I consider.' *Θυμός* is the seat of the emotions (*animus*), *νοῦς*, the thinking faculty (*mens*).

l. 25. ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, 'on terms of war;' i. e. 'as enemies.'

παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς. Cp. i. 101, n.

l. 27. ἐπισιτιούμεθα, the 'Attic' future. Cp. i. 25, n.

ὁ ἡγησόμενος = *qui viam monstret*. See note on ὁ *τολμήσων*, iii. 19.

l. 29. ἀφεστήξει. This future is formed from ἔστηκα, the perf. of ἵστημι, with present meaning. So τεθνήξω from τέθνηκα, 'I am dead.'

Λελείπεται, lit. 'will have been left' (the future perfect), i. e. 'we shall have no friend left,' 'we shall find ourselves without a friend.'

l. 30. ὄντες. sc. φίλοι, i. e. Ariaeus and his party (Macmichael).

l. 32. τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην, &c., 'but as to the Euphrates, we know, &c.' Οὖν is probably from ἐόν, the Ionic neut. part. of εἶμι, and means literally 'in fact,' whence the inferential sense of 'therefore,' was derived. For Εὐφράτην, as the object of ἵσμεν, cp. iii. 45, n.

l. 33. ἄν = ἐάν, before δέη. Cp. i. 48, n. For the reason why the Greeks had now no cavalry see ii. 35.

l. 36. νικῶντες, 'if we conquer.' Cp. i. 66, n. So ἡττωμένων following.

l. 37. μὲν emphasises ἐγὼ, οὖν = 'in consequence' of these considerations.

Βασιλέα, put first for emphasis, and afterwards repeated by αὐτόν (l. 39). This seemingly awkward repetition, and the rapid sequence of thought in the following clause (ὁμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπι-ορκῆσαι, &c.), indeed the entire structure of the sentence, show the excited, almost desperate, state of Clearchus' mind on this occasion. The sense is—'As to the king . . . I don't see what he wants by all these oaths and pledges, if he only means to perjure himself after all.' The speech is doubtless recorded by Xenophon much as he heard it delivered.

l. 40. θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι, 'to swear falsely by,' or 'in presence of the gods.' Cp. iii. 101, n. The ἐπὶ in ἐπιορκεῖν is probably *intensive*, lit. 'swear in addition,' hence = what we call 'hard swearing;' the idea being that extra protestations imply untruthfulness. Cp. Lat. '*per-jurus*,' Germ. '*ver-schwören*,' our '*for-swear*.'

l. 43. ὡς ἀπιῶν, 'purporting to go,' ἀπειμι being future in sense. Cp. iii. 97, n. His 'home' would be in Caria, iii. 76, n.

Orontas was satrap of Armenia. He is supposed to be the Oroetes whom Plutarch mentions as having married Rhodogune, a daughter of Artaxerxes. Xenophon also records this fact (III. iv. § 13) omitting her name; hence Ὀρόντας is probably the subject of ἦγε here. But, according to Diodorus Siculus, Tissaphernes had also married a daughter of the king. See l. 1, n.

l. 44. ἐπὶ γάμφ, 'as his wedded wife,' lit. 'on terms of marriage.' Cp. l. 25, n.

l. 49. ὑφορῶντες. See ὑφοράω in Lexicon, and cp. ll. 9, 10.

αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, 'by themselves apart' (Taylor). For αὐτοὶ = μόνος cp. iii. 6, 36, n. Ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν is properly 'depending on themselves.'

l. 51. ἐφυλάττοντο ἀλλήλους, 'kept on their guard against each other.' The active, φυλάττειν, is 'to guard,' or 'protect' anyone (Lat. *cavere alicui*), the middle, φυλάττεσθαι, is 'to guard oneself against' anyone (Lat. *cavere aliquem*).

l. 53. ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, 'from the same spot.' For ὁ αὐτὸς = *idem* cp. i. 98, n.

l. 54. ἐνέτεινον, probably 'threatened,' Lat. *intendere*. Some understand it of blows actually inflicted.

l. 55. παρείχε. Cp. iii. 102, n.

l. 56. τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, 'the Wall of Media,' so called because it was built to keep the Medes out of the fertile district of Babylonia (just as the 'Picts' Wall' was a defence against the incursions of the Picts). It extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, but its position is a matter of dispute. The older theory, of Col. Chesney, Mr. Ainsworth and others, placed this wall near to Felujah on the Euphrates, about 100 miles N.W. of Babylon, and identified it with some remains known as Sidd Nimroud. It is supposed that the army had already passed through a gap in this wall at its western end on their way to Cunaxa (I. vii. § 15) and that Tissaphernes now led the Greeks back through this gap three days' journey (τρῆς σταθμοὺς) in a homeward (or north-westerly) direction (ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιῶν, l. 43), and then brought them *within* (εἴσω), i. e. to the south side of, the wall again; his object being both to perplex them as to their route and to gain time for maturing his own plan of cutting off their retreat. The main objection to this theory is that Xenophon describes the Wall of Media as 'not far from Babylon' (l. 60). This has been met by the supposition that he was not aware of having passed it on the way to Cunaxa, a large portion of it having been demolished at the end next to the Euphrates, and that he imagined it to be much nearer Babylon than it really was. This is a possible but hardly a satisfactory explanation. Mr. Grote, rejecting the above theory, places the wall somewhere to the *south* of Cunaxa, and believes that the Greeks now saw it for the first time, the mention of it in the First Book being out of order in time. This makes a difficulty about the τρῆς σταθμοὺς here, the distance being too short for a three days' march; but Mr. Grote would compute these from the time when the Greeks started with Ariaeus (ii. 68), not (as the narrative seems to imply) from the time when Tissaphernes joined them. For details see Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxx, note, and Mr. Taylor's additional note on I. vii. § 15.



1. 62. **διώρυχας δύο.** These were two out of the four canals mentioned in I. vii. § 15. They must have been near the Wall of Media, and to the south of it, but their exact position cannot be known as long as that of the wall itself is uncertain. For the **διώρυχες, τάφροι** (1. 64) and **ὄχετοι** (1. 66), see iii. 42, n.

1. 63. **ἀπὸ τοῦ Τύγρητος.** Other historians represent the canals as flowing the reverse way, from the Euphrates into the Tigris. But 'the difference in the level of the rivers is so slight, that by altering the diagonal direction of a canal the waters could be made to flow either way.' Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 89.

1. 69. **Σιττάκη.** Colonel Chesney, 'taking the distance backward from the known point of the river Zab' (v. i.), places Sittace 'about ten miles north-west of Baghdad, near Sheriat el Beidha,' or the White River.

1. 70. **παρ' αὐτήν,** 'near (lit. 'alongside of') it.' **Παρά** with accus. denotes *extension* in space as well as motion *to* an object, as **παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν πέμψαι**, 1. 83.

1. 71. **δασέος δένδρων,** 'thickly planted with trees.' Adjectives implying fulness, or its opposite (as **πληρῆς, κενός, &c.**) take the genitive; but **δασὺς** commonly takes the dative, as **δασὺ πίτυσι μεγάλας** (VII. vii. § 6).

1. 72. **διαβεβηκότες,** 'though they had crossed,' balanced by **μέντοι,** 'however,' following. Cp. i. 66, n.

1. 74. **πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων,** 'in front of their quarters.' Cp. ii. 101, n.

1. 77. **καὶ ταῦτα, &c.,** 'and *that* too,' &c.; i. e. 'notwithstanding that he came from Ariaeus.' Xenophon intimates his suspicion that Menon was privy to the Persian scheme (Macmichael).

1. 79. **ὅτι εἰμί.** For a direct speech introduced by **ὅτι** cp. ii. 100, n.

1. 82. **τῆς νυκτός.** Cp. ii. 6, n.

1. 83. **πλησίον,** adverb, but = an adjective. Cp. i. 93, n.

1. 86. **ἐν μέσῳ, &c.** Cp. 1. 99, and ii. 15, n.

1. 88. **φράζωσιν,** 'repeat.' Cp. iii. 13, n.

1. 89. **ἐταράχθη** (aor.), 'he was agitated' at the moment; **ἐφοβεῖτο** (imperf.), 'he was alarmed' for some time afterwards.

1. 91. **οὐκ ἀκόλουθα,** 'inconsistent.' Mr. Taylor compares the French '*inconséquent*.' Note the *future* infinitives, 'the (alleged) *designs* of attacking, &c.'

1. 92. **δεήσει, &c.,** a sudden transition to the direct form of speech from the indirect (**ὥς οὐκ εἶη, &c.**). Cp. ii. 5, n.

1. 94. **ἂν,** for **ἐάν.** Cp. i. 48, n.

**ἔχοιμεν ἂν.** A conditional sentence introduced by **ἐάν** is usually followed by the fut. indic., as **ἔξουσιν** (1. 96). Cp. i. 68, n. But the



opt. with *ἂν* is often used as a less decided mode of expressing the future, 'it *would* be,' instead of 'it *will* be.'

ὅποι σωθῶμεν, 'whither we may go for safety.' Σώζεσθαι, as a verb of motion, means 'to *get* safely' anywhere.

l. 97. πολλῶν ὄντων, 'though there be many,' i. e. 'however numerous they may be.' Cp. i. 66, n.

l. 100. ὅτι . . . ἐνεισι. Cp. ii. 100, n.

l. 102. ὑποπέμψαιεν. Ὑπὸ means 'with an *underhand* object.' Cp. l. 15, i. 97, n. So ὑπόπεμptos, III. iii. § 4. Lat. *submittere*.

l. 104. ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. This 'island' was formed by the Tigris and Euphrates at either extremity, and the two canals (l. 62) intersecting.

l. 106. πολλῆς . . . οὔσης is in apposition with χάρας.

τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόntων is the gen. absolute, 'there being men in it to cultivate it.'

l. 110. οὔτε . . . οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν. A good instance of the multiplication of negatives for the sake of emphasis. Cp. ii. 81. In older English this was common, e. g. Chaucer, Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*, l. 70.

'He *never* yet *no* vilanie *ne* sayde

, In all his life unto *no* manner wighte.'

l. 115. τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους, 'coming from Tissaphernes,' a condensed expression for 'some of the Greeks who were *with* Tissaphernes reported *from him*.' Cp. ii. 2, n.

l. 116. μέλλοιεν. The opt. indicates that the statement may be false, as in fact it was. Cp. i. 14, n.

l. 121. The **Physcus**, if a river, has been identified with the Adhem or Athaim, which flows into the Tigris from the north-east. But Colonel Chesney believes it to be the ancient canal known as the Nahrwan, some way higher up, and places the site of **Opis** a little above the village of Kaim. It is supposed that Xenophon made a similar mistake with regard to the Daradax (I. iv. § 10) and the Mascas (I. v. § 4), which he calls ποταμοί, though they are really channels dug from the Euphrates. Mr. Grote in his map marks the Physcus distinctly as a *river*.

l. 128. εἰς δύο, 'two deep,' or 'in double file' (Taylor). Εἰς denotes the number of parts *according* to which the division is made, hence it acquires a sort of distributive force. Cp. εἰς ὀκτῶ (VII. i. § 23).

l. 129. τὸ ἡγούμενον, 'the leading division' or 'the van.' Cp. ii. 23, n. It is the object of ἐπιστήσειε, which (being the 1 aor.) must be transitive. [The *transitive* tenses of ἵστημι are the pres., imperf., future, and 1st aor.; the perf., pluperf., and 2nd aor. are *intransitive*.]

l. 131. ὥστε with the infin. (δόξαι) expresses an *intended* result, 'so as to *make* the army appear very large.' Cp. ii. 88, n.

l. 135. Παρυσάτιδος κώμας. These villages must have been on or

near 'the lesser Zab, which flows into the Tigris, and which Xenophon must have crossed, though he makes no mention of it.' [Grote, ch. lxx.] Parysatis was the widow of Darius II, and mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus (I. i. § 1). As she had been the supporter of Cyrus, Tissaphernes chose this method of insulting his memory (Κύρω ἐπεγγελῶν).

l. 138. πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. Krüger takes this as a condensed phrase for πλὴν ἀνδράποδα διαρπάσαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε, 'except that he did not allow them to carry off (the people) as slaves,' giving διαρπάσαι its secondary sense of 'carrying off' booty (with acc. of the thing taken away). It may be simpler to translate 'to plunder these (villages) of everything except slaves,' i. e. 'except the inhabitants, in order to make slaves of them.'

l. 140. ἐρήμους. Mr. Grote speaks of these villages as 'forming a marked exception to the desert character of the remaining march.'

l. 143. Καιναί. The locality of Caenae is supposed to be marked by the ruins of Kalah Shirgat, perhaps the ancient Calah (Genesis x. 11), or, according to some, Asshur, the pre-Ninevite capital of Assyria.

σχεδίαῖς διφθερίναις, 'rafts supported on skins' inflated with air. This mode of ferrying on rafts, called *keleks*, is still practised both on the Tigris and Euphrates.

## CHAPTER V.

l. 1. Ζαπάταν (or Ζάβατον), the Great Zab, one of the principal eastern tributaries of the Tigris.

l. 6. ἐροῦντα, fut. part. 'to say,' Lat. *qui diceret*.

l. 10. δεξιᾶς. Cp. iii. 126, n.

μὴ ἀδικήσιν. Cp. iv. 6, n.

φυλαττόμενον, 'on your guard against.' Cp. iv. 51, n.

l. 13. οὔτε . . . τε. Cp. ii. 43, n.

l. 14. οὐδὲ, adverbial, 'not even,' Lat. '*ne in animo quidem habemus*.'

l. 18. οἱ φοβηθέντες. The usual construction would be φοβηθέντας after οἶδα. Cp. i. 77, n. But 'the relative is used to avoid an accumulation of participles' (φοβηθέντας, βουλομένους, ποιήσαντας). Taylor.

φθάσαι πρὶν παθεῖν, 'to take measures before coming to harm,' lit. 'to anticipate before suffering.' A word denoting *priority* is commonly expressed in the clause before πρὶν, as προτέρων . . . πρὶν, πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν, &c. Here φθάσαι contains in itself the notion of priority, since φθάνειν = 'to do a thing *first*,' or '*before* anyone else.' Πρὶν, as a conjunction, is used (1) with the infinitive, as πρὶν ἔλθεῖν, 'before coming;' (2) with the indicative, marking strongly the fact, as πρὶν ἦλθε, 'before,' or 'until he came;' (3) after a negative with ἄν and the subjunctive =

'until,' of future time, as *μὴ ποιήσης πρὶν ἂν ἔλθω*, 'do not do it *till* (or 'before') I come.'

l. 19. *κακὰ*, the *cognate* accus. expressing the thing done; *τοὺς μέλλοντας*, the object, or persons *to* whom it is done. Verbs which imply the operation of an act upon some person or thing, as well as the action itself, may have a double accusative, as *βλάπτω σε μέγαλα, εὐεργετῶ σε ταῦτα*, &c.

*οὐτ' αὖ βουλομένους*, 'nor *even* desired.' *Αὖ* is lit. 'again,' hence 'moreover,' 'further,' marking an important addition to what has been said. So here, 'those who did not intend, and *what is more* did not wish, &c.'

l. 23. *πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον*, adverbial, properly accus. of respect, 'firstly and chiefly.'

*οἱ θεῶν ὄρκοι*, 'our oaths sworn *by* the gods.' Here *θεῶν* is the *objective* genitive (from the phrase *ὀμνύναι θεοῦς*); in l. 26 it is *subjective*. 'The war which the gods wage,' i. e. their 'vengeance' (Taylor).

l. 25. *σύνοιδεν*, &c., 'is conscious of having disregarded them (*τούτων*).' For *οἶδα* with participle cp. i. 77, n. *Συνειδέναι* is 'to know with oneself,' or 'in one's own mind,' i. e. 'be conscious.' Cp. Lat. *conscire sibi*.

l. 26. *θεῶν πόλεμον*. See second note on l. 23.

*ἀπὸ* denotes the means, 'by' or 'with what speed.' Cp. the adverbial phrases *ἀπὸ σπουδῆς*, 'in earnest'; *ἀπὸ στόματος*, 'by word of mouth'; *ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀπ' ὁμμάτων*, &c.

ll. 27, 28. For the difference between *ἀποφυγεῖν* and *ἀποδρᾶναι* cp. ii. 67, n. *Ἀποστῆναι* followed by *εἰς* with accus. is 'to retreat into' a place of refuge.

l. 30. *πάντων*, the gen. after *κρατοῦσι*; *ἴσον*, adverbial, 'equally,' or 'alike.'

l. 31. *οὕτω γινώσκω*, 'such is my opinion.' This verb in the pres. means 'to get a knowledge' of anything, hence 'perceive,' 'think,' 'judge,' &c.

*παρ' οὗς*, &c., 'with whom,' lit. 'into whose keeping (*κατεθέμεθα* implying motion) we deposited.' *Καταθέσθαι* is the regular word used of 'depositing' a sum of money with a banker (Taylor).

l. 34. *πάσα ὁδὸς*, 'every road'; *πᾶσα ἡ ὁδὸς*, 'all *the* road,' i. e. 'our whole line of march.'

l. 36. *διὰ σκότους*, 'in the dark,' i. e. 'uncertain.' *Σκότος* in Xenophon is commonly neuter, elsewhere it is generally masculine.

l. 38. *φοβερώτατον*, neuter, because *ἐρημία* implies the *general* notion of 'solitude.' Cp. Herod. vii. 10, *διαβολή ἐστι δεινότατον*, 'a terrible thing is calumny.' So Virg. *Ecl.* iii. 80, '*triste* lupus stabulis'; *Aen.* iv. 569, '*varium et mutabile semper femina*.'



1. 39. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ, &c., 'but supposing we *were* mad enough to kill you.' Δὴ='really,' assuming the case for the sake of argument, and the καὶ strengthens this assumption (Macmichael).

ἄλλο τι ἤ, a condensed phrase for ἄλλο τι ἂν ποιήσαιμεν ἤ, &c. Hence the expression came to be used for a mere interrogation, 'should we not' &c.

1. 41. ἔφεδρον, properly a third combatant in a gladiatorial contest, who 'sat by,' ready to contend with the victor. If the Greeks slew Tissaphernes, they would still have left a powerful adversary in the king.

1. 44. γὰρ, explanatory = 'for you must know.'

1. 45. τῶν τότε. Cp. i. 93, n.

1. 48. πολεμία ἐχρήτο, 'had opposed to him.' Χρησθαι, 'to use,' hence 'to have dealings with,' or simply 'to have' in a certain relation to oneself, as φίλῳ or πολεμίῳ, &c.

1. 49. ὅστις οὐ βούλεται, 'as not to desire,' = ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι, Lat. *quin velit*.

1. 50. ἀλλὰ μὲν ἐρῶ γὰρ, &c. 'but indeed [the advantage is not wholly on our side], for I will tell you, &c.' Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, like the Latin *sed enim*, requires something to be supplied in translation from the general sense of the passage, such as 'but *not so*,' or 'but *not only so*, for, &c.'

1. 52. The **Mysians** on the north-west, and the **Pisidians** (l. 54) on the south-east, were a constant source of annoyance to the satraps of the intervening provinces of Lydia and Phrygia. It was against the latter that the expedition of Cyrus had been ostensibly directed, before its real object was disclosed (I. i. § 11). For the **Egyptians**, who were now in revolt from Persia, see i. 82, n.

1. 54. ἀκούω εἶναι means, 'I hear a report that it is,' ἀκούω ὅν is, 'I hear it as a fact.'

1. 59. εἰ βούλοιο . . . ἂν εἴης, 'if you *were* to desire . . . you would be.' See the four conditional forms, i. 68, n.

1. 61. ἀναστρέφοιο, 'you might conduct yourself' (Taylor). Ἀν must be supplied from the former clause. Ἀναστρέφεσθαι is lit. 'to turn round and round,' in a place (Lat. *versari*), hence 'to dwell,' or simply 'to be' in a permanent relation to anyone.

1. 62. ἧς . . . ἔχοιμεν. Some editions read ἧν. But in Greek the relative usually agrees in *case*, as well as in number and gender, with its antecedent, by what is called 'attraction.' To avoid possible confusion, this is only done when the relative would otherwise have been in the accusative.

1. 65. τὸ ὄνομα τίς, &c. a mixture of the two constructions, ἀκούσασαι τίς ἐστί, and ἀκούσασαι τὸ ὄνομα τούτου, ὅστις ἐστί (Krüger).



l. 69. ἀλλὰ, 'well.' Cp. i. 106, n. The μὲν is answered by δὲ in l. 72, ὥς δ' ἂν μάθῃς, &c.

l. 70. ταῦτα γινώσκων, 'thinking as you do.' Cp. l. 31, n.

l. 71. ἂν, with εἶναι, not with δοκεῖς (i. 71, n.). 'I think that you would be.' Without the δοκεῖς it would stand ἂν εἴης, answering to εἰ βουλεύοις. See i. 68, n.

l. 72. ὥς ἂν μάθῃς, &c., gives the sense of 'hear, and you will understand,' or 'so shall you understand;' Lat. 'audi, ut discas,' *disces autem si audias* (Madvig, *Greek Syntax*, § 302). Without ἂν, ὥς simply marks a purpose, but gives no hint of its being realised.

l. 73. ἀπιστοίητε. The opt. in -οίην of contracted verbs is peculiar to the Attic dialect. It is common in the singular (as λυποίῃ, l. 60), but not so often used in the 1st and 2nd plural.

l. 76. ἀλλὰ marks a sudden transition to a new part of the subject. 'But *perhaps you think* we should be in want of positions suitable for attacking you.'

l. 81. παρέχειν. Cp. iii. 102, n.

ἐφ' ὧν, 'on whose banks' (Taylor). Cp. in Latin 'situs est *super* Numicium flumen.' Livy, i. 2.

l. 82. ταμιεύεσθαι, &c., 'determine for ourselves the number of your forces, with which we might choose to engage;' i.e. 'fight with as many or as few as we chose.' Ταμιεύεσθαι is lit. 'to act as a steward;' hence 'regulate,' 'control,' 'determine.' Xenophon uses it twice in the *Cyropaedia* in this sense.

l. 84. διαπορεύοιμεν, 'put you across.' Πορεύειν is 'to provide a passage' (πόρος), i.e. 'cause to pass;' πορεύεσθαι, 'to provide *oneself* with a passage,' i.e. 'pass,' 'march,' &c.

ἥττωίμεθα, the opt., marks a supposition not likely to be realised, 'if we *should* prove inferior.'

l. 86. ἀντιτάξαι, 'use against you,' 'set in array,' as a hostile force.

l. 88. ἂν merely anticipates the ἂν in l. 90, to show that the sentence is going to be conditional.

l. 89. μηδένα expresses the fact as conceived in the mind of the speaker, 'none *that we could regard* as dangerous;' οὐδένα would mean 'none that is *as a matter of fact* dangerous.' Cp. ii. 61, n.

ἔπειτα, 'after this;' i.e. 'under such circumstances as these.'

l. 91. πρὸς θεῶν, 'by,' lit. 'in presence of the gods.' Cp. iii. 101, n.

l. 92. ἀπόρων ἐστὶ . . . οὔτινες ἐθέλουσι, a confusion between ἀπόρων ἐστὶν ἐθέλειν and ἄποροι εἰσὶ, οὔτινες ἐθέλουσι. Cp. vi. 22, φιλοπολέμου ἀνδρὸς . . . ὅστις, &c. So Thucydides (iii. 45) has πολλῆς εὐθελείας (ἐστὶν), ὅστις οἴεται, for εὐθελῆς ὅστις, &c.

l. 93. καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, 'and at the same time worthless.' Cp. καὶ ταῦτα, iv. 77, n.

1. 96. ἐξόν. The *accusative* (not the *nom.*) absolute. As the *accus.* denotes *extension* in space or time, certain neuter participles are put in that case to mark a state of things coexisting with something else, as ἐξόν, παρὸν, &c. 'while it is in our power;' δόξαν (and even δόξαν ταῦτα), 'when this was resolved,' &c.

οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤλθομεν, 'did we not proceed to the act,' or 'make the attempt?' Cp. III. i. § 18, ἀρ' οὐκ ἐπὶ πάν ἔλθοι, 'would he not proceed to any extremity?'

1. 98. τὸ γενέσθαι, instead of τοῦ γενέσθαι, the *gen.* after ἔρω. The thing desired is put in apposition with the word expressing the desire. 'My desire to prove myself faithful is the cause of this.' In the next line ἐμὲ καταβῆναι is in the same construction.

11. 99, 100. Note the opposition between μισθοδοσίας, 'mercenary considerations,' and εὐεργεσίαν, 'gratitude for kind services.'

1. 102. τιάραν ὀρθήν. The stiff, upright *tiara* or cap was the distinction of royalty. Hence by the 'erect tiara on the heart,' Tissaphernes means to say that with the help of the Greeks a man may indulge a kingly spirit, and even aspire to the throne of Persia.

1. 106. ὑπαρχόντων. Cp. ii. 53, n.

1. 109. μοι, not 'to me' after ἐλθεῖν, which would be πρὸς ἐμὲ, but 'for me,' i. e. 'to oblige me,' the 'ethical' dative. Cp. vi. 34, n.

1. 114. φιλοφρονούμενος, 'behaving with courtesy.' Cp. Lat. *benignè*, Sallust, *Jugurtha*, xi. 1.

1. 116. δῆλος . . . Τισσαφέρνει, 'evidently considered himself to be on friendly terms with Tissaphernes.' Δῆλος εἰμὶ ποιῶν—δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐμε ποιεῖν (cp. iv. 8, n.). Διακείσθαι, used as passive of διατίθημι, is 'to be put into a certain state or condition,' hence 'to be *disposed*,' Lat. *disponere* = δια-τιθέναι. Cp. vi. 52.

1. 121. τὸν διαβάλλοντα, predicative, 'that Menon was the calumniator.' The character of Menon, as drawn by Xenophon in the sixth Chapter, renders such an imputation highly probable; still there had long been mutual jealousies between him and Clearchus ever since Cyrus had transferred his confidence from the former to the latter. On one occasion there was a serious disturbance between them and their respective divisions, which might have ruined the expedition, had not Cyrus interfered (I. v. §§ 11–17).

1. 123. στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ, 'raising a faction against himself' (Clearchus).

1. 124. πρὸς αὐτὸν, 'to his own side.'

1. 127. τοὺς παραλυποῦντας, lit. 'those who gave trouble by being near him.' Mr. Watson well translates it 'troublesome rivals.'

ἀντέλεγον μὴ ἰέναι, 'opposed their going,' or 'urged that they should not go.' But the Greek requires μὴ before ἰέναι to balance the negative implied in ἀντέλεγον. See iii. 50, n.

l. 131. ὡς εἰς ἀργοράν, i. e. unarmed.

l. 133. ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις. Cp. i. 48, n.

l. 134. Proxenus was a common guest-friend (ξένος) of Cyrus and Xenophon (I. i. § 11, III. i. § 4). It was he that recommended Xenophon to join the expedition, supposing it to be only against the Pisidian marauders. Cp. l. 52, n.

l. 137. σημείου. According to Diodorus, the 'signal' was a red flag hoisted from the tent of Tissaphernes.

l. 138. συνελάμβανον, the imperf., marks the beginning of the action, κατεκόπησαν, the aorist, its sudden completion. Changing from the passive to the active construction we might translate—'they *proceeded* to apprehend those within, and *immediately* cut down those without.' So ἔκτεινον (l. 141), 'proceeded to kill.'

l. 142. ἡμφιγνόνον, imperf. of ἀμφιγνοέω for ἀμφι-νοέω. The preposition is augmented (as in ἡφίουν from ἀφίημι, ἐκαθήμην from κάθημαι, &c.) either because the compound verb has an entirely new meaning, so that it may be treated as a simple verb, or because ἀμφιγνοέω is not really compounded of ἀμφὶ and νοέω, but *derived* from the adj. ἀμφίνοος. Cp. ἀντιβολέω, ἡντιβόλων (from ἀντιβολή), ἀντιδικέω, ἡντιδίκουν (from ἀντίδικος). Another form of the imperf. is ἡμφεγνόνον.

l. 143. πρὶν with ind., 'until.' See note on πρὶν παθεῖν, l. 18.

l. 146. ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Cp. ii. 100, n.

l. 148. ἦσαν, 'were *formerly*,' or 'had been.' The simple past tense is often used (especially in a minor clause) to denote a state of things once existing, but now finished, where we use the pluperfect. So also in *Oratio Obliqua*. Cp. i. 18, n.

l. 154. ἀπαγγέλωσι. For the subj. instead of the opt. after a principal verb in the past tense cp. iii. 8, n.

l. 155. φυλαττόμενοι, probably passive, 'with a guard' of soldiers. Or middle 'keeping on their guard.' Cp. iv. 51, n.

l. 158. Χειρίσοφος. Cp. i. 28. As a representative of the leading state of Greece at this time, he would naturally have taken the place of Clearchus (Taylor).

l. 160. εἰς ἐπήκοον, 'within earshot.'

l. 161. ἐπιτορκῶν ἐφάνη, 'has been *proved* guilty of perjury.' Φαίνομαι ὦν = 'I clearly am;' φαίνομαι εἶναι, 'I appear to be.' See note on ἀκούω εἶναι, &c., l. 54.

l. 162. τὴν δίκην, 'his just punishment,' lit. 'the punishment' he deserves. The Greek article = a possessive pronoun when the person referred to is quite clear.

l. 166. ἔλεγε. Cp. iii. 96, n.

l. 168. αἰσχύεσθε θεούς. Cp. iii. 101, n.

l. 169. ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς, perhaps 'the same *with* ourselves;' i. e.



'the same as we do.' But this would rather be τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν. It is better to take ἡμῖν after ὁμόσαντες.

l. 170. νομείν. For the 'Attic' future cp. i. 25, n.

l. 174. γὰρ, 'yes, for,' &c. An answer is often thus introduced by γὰρ, the 'yes' or 'no,' or some equivalent clause, having to be supplied. In such cases γὰρ may be rendered by 'well,' or the unemphatic 'why.' Cp. St. Matt. xxvii. 23, τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; 'why *what* evil hath he done?'

l. 177. εἰ ἔλυσεν, 'if (as you say) he tried to violate' (imperf.) Εἰ with the indic., followed by a verb in the same mood, implies that the fact being granted, the consequence certainly follows. See the first form of a conditional sentence, i. 68, n.

τὴν δίκην. Cp. l. 162, n.

ll. 179, 180. Πρόξενος δὲ, &c., 'but *as for* Proxenus and Menon, since they are &c., send *them* hither.'

l. 181. γε, slightly ironical, 'being, *as you say*, your friends.'

## CHAPTER VI.

l. 1. ὡς βασιλέα. Cp. iii. 130, n.

l. 3. ἐκ πάντων, 'by all,' after δόξας, 'being thought.' The usual preposition is ὑπὸ, but as the agent is the person *from* whom the action proceeds, ἐκ may be used, as ἐφίληθεν ἐκ Διὸς, Hom. Il. ii. 669. This is rare in Attic prose. So in older English *of*=*by*, as 'loved *of* God,' 'seen *of* angels,' &c.

l. 4. ἐμπείρως ἐχόντων, nearly = ἐμπείρων ὄντων. For ἔχειν with adv. cp. i. 43, n.

πολεμικὸς, 'apt for war,' φιλοπόλεμος, 'fond of war.' Adjectives in -ικὸς denote fitness or capacity, answering to the Latin ending -bilis, and our -ble.

l. 5. δὴ introduces an instance, *confirming* the statement as to his warlike propensities, = 'in fact,' or 'for instance,' or 'you must know that,' &c.

l. 6. παρέμενεν combines the meanings of 'continued' in his country's service, and 'continued' loyal to the authorities, in opposition to οὐκ ἐτι πείθεται (l. 12).

l. 8. ὡς ἐδύνατο, 'as best we could,' implying that he was not over scrupulous as to the means.

l. 10. τοῖς ὑπὲρ X. &c. the Thracians dwelling on the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. Perinthus, afterwards Heraclea (whence its modern name Erekli), was one of their towns. See Map.



μεταγρόντες. For μετά in compounds cp. iii. 29. n.

l. 11. ἔξω ὄντος, i. e. when he had got clear of the Peloponnesus. Others say that Clearchus was dismissed *after* he had been at Byzantium, for his tyranny there. Mr. Grote thinks he may have been governor of the place in B.C. 404, and so have preceded Cleander.

l. 12. Ἴσθμοῦ, the isthmus of Corinth. He probably had to touch there to take up some of the allies of Sparta.

l. 13. ἐκ τούτου, 'in consequence of this.' Below (l. 19).

ἀπὸ τούτου is 'from this time forward.'

ἐθανατώθη, 'he was condemned to death.' Usually θανατώω is 'I put to death.' Verbs in -όω, derived from noun-stems, mean to *cause* something, as δουλόω 'I enslave,' &c.

l. 14. τελῶν, 'the authorities,' i. e. the Ephors. The common phrase is οἱ ἐν τέλει. See τέλος in Lexicon.

l. 16. ἄλλη γέγραπται. In I. i. § 9, whence this account is repeated, it is merely said that 'Cyrus had an interview with him and admired him.' Possibly Xenophon may have forgotten that he had not said more than this.

l. 17. οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίαν. So in his address to the soldiers (I. iii. § 3) Clearchus takes credit for not having 'squandered in luxury' (οὐδὲ καθηδυνάθησα) the money Cyrus had given him.

l. 18. ἐπολέμει, imperf., 'proceeded to make war.' Cp. v. 138, n.

l. 19. ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε, 'harried and plundered.' See φέρω and ἄγω in Lexicon.

l. 23. ὅστις, &c. For the construction cp. v. 92, n.

ἔξόν. Cp. v. 96, n.

l. 25. ὥστε πολεμεῖν, 'for the sake of war,' i. e. 'with war as an object.' For ὥστε with indic. and infin. cp. ii. 88, n.

l. 28. φιλοπόλεμος, πολεμικός. Cp. l. 4, n.

l. 29. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς, genitives of time. Cp. ii. 6, n.

l. 30. φρόνιμος. So Sallust records of Jugurtha, 'et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio,' *Jugurtha*, viii. 5.

l. 32. ἀρχικὸς, 'able to command.' Cp. l. 4, n.

ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, &c., 'considering the sort of disposition he had.' Ἐκ, lit. 'out of,' implies that the amount of his capacity for command was the *result* of (i. e. was *regulated* by) his peculiar temperament. The καὶ in καὶ κεῖνος is best rendered by a stress on the pronoun.

l. 34. ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ, 'his army,' not however possessive (though there is no other convenient way of translating it), but the so-called *dativus ethicus*, which is really a particular instance of the *dativus commodi*. Cp. I. i. 64, n. It implies that the person takes an *interest* in what is said or done; thus λαβὲ μοι τοῦτο = 'take this, *I pray*,' or 'to please

me.' 'Quid *mihi* Celsus agit?' = 'my Celsus,' i. e. Celsus in whose doings I am interested.

l. 35. ἐμπειῶσαι, 'to instil into the minds of;' lit. 'produce in' them the feeling that, &c.

l. 36. πειστέον, the verbal adj. of πείθομαι, 'I obey,' not of πείθειν, 'I persuade,' which would take the *accusative*.

l. 37. ὁρᾶν στυγνός, Lat. *aspectu tristis*. But the Latin poets copy this use of the Greek infinitive, as 'niveus *videri*,' Hor. *Od.* IV. ii. 59.

l. 39. ὥς = ὥστε, with infinitive. Cp. ii. 89, n.

ἔσθ' ὅτε (or ἔστιν ὅτε). lit. 'there is (a time) when,' i. e. 'sometimes,' Lat. *est quando*. This phrase had become so familiar that the tense of ἔστι remained unaltered, even though past or future time were implied. Similarly ἔστιν οἱ for εἰσιν οἱ, or even for ἦσαν οἱ; but in Lat. 'sunt qui,' 'erant qui.'

γνώμη, 'with a set purpose,' or 'systematically.'

l. 41. τὸν στρατιώτην, 'a soldier.' The Greek article often marks an individual as one of a *class*, where we commonly use the indefinite article.

l. 43. Distinguish φυλακὰς (φυλακῇ), 'watch,' i. e. 'act of watching,' *vigilias* from φύλακας (φύλαξ), 'watchers,' *vigiles*. The word *guard* is ambiguous, having both meanings.

ἀφέξεσθαι, lit. 'keep his hands off,' i. e. 'avoid injuring.' An undisciplined soldier might by mere awkwardness do mischief to those on his own side.

l. 46. τὸ στυγνὸν . . . φαίνεσθαι, 'that his gloominess then assumed an air of cheerfulness, as compared with (lit. 'among') the countenances (of the others).' Some insert ἄλλοις before προσώποις, which gives the right sense, but has not the best authority.

l. 47. ἐρρωμένον . . . εἶναι, 'seemed to be the expression of firmness and courage against the enemy.'

l. 50. ἀρχομένους. The text is almost certainly corrupt. 'Ἀρχομένους (passive) must = στρατιώτας, and by its position in the sentence should agree with ἄλλους. But then the sense requires 'commanders,' not 'men;' hence some have proposed to read ἄρχοντας. If we make ἀρχομένους the subject of ἀπέναι, it would seem to require the article, and moreover would involve the rare construction of the accus. and infin., instead of the dative, after ἐξείη. Others omit ἀρχομένους, leaving ἄρχοντας, or a similar word, to be supplied with ἄλλους. Possibly the right reading is ἀρξομένους, in a passive sense; i. e. 'when they had an opportunity of going off to other (commanders) to be ruled by them.'

l. 51. τὸ ἐπίχαρι, 'the faculty of pleasing.'

l. 52. διέκειντο, &c., 'were in the position of boys,' &c. Cp. v.

1. 55. ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, 'from want' of money or provisions.
1. 56. παρείησαν αὐτῷ, 'took service under him.' For the form of the opt. 3rd pl. see i. 57, n.
1. 58. μέγαλα, the predicate, i. e. 'strong were the influences that tended to make his men efficient soldiers.'
1. 60. θαρραλέως ἔχειν. Cp. l. 4, i. 43, n.
1. 62. δὴ sums up the description,—'such as I have said.'
- ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων, &c. Cp. l. 12, &c. The battle of Cunaxa was lost mainly through Clearchus' refusal to obey the command of Cyrus, when ordered to attack the enemy's centre. I. viii. §§ 12, 13.
1. 63. τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, 'full fifty years old,' lit. 'the fifty' which you get by reckoning them all up.
1. 67. Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily was a celebrated teacher of rhetoric in the fifth century B.C. 'His abundant powers of illustration, his florid ornaments, his artificial structure of sentences . . . spread a new fashion in the art of speaking, which for the time was very popular.' Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxvii. His fee is said to have been 100 *minae*, over £400.
1. 69. ἱκανὸς, the nom. in apposition with the subject of the sentence. In Latin it would be '*se idoneum esse ratus*.' Cp. οἶδα ὦν, &c., i. 77, n.
- ὦν = 'if he were.' Cp. i. 66, n.
- ἡττᾶσθαι. Cp. iii. 109, n.
1. 74. μετὰ ἀδικίας, 'by unjust means;' σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ, 'consistently with justice,' having justice, as it were, for a companion and ally. Both practically = the adverbs ἀδίκως and δικαίως, but σὺν implies a much closer connexion than μετὰ does.
1. 75. μὴ, sc. the infin. δεῖν. If ᾤετο were to be supplied, the μὴ must be οὐ.
1. 76. καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, 'men of honour and probity.' The phrase καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς (or καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, l. 84), lit. 'fair and good,' comprised the Greek *beau-idéal* of excellence, or what we should call a 'perfect gentleman.'
1. 77. οὐ . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε. For the multiplied negatives cp. ii. 81, v. 110, n.
- αἰδῶ, 'respect' for his good opinion of them; φόβον, 'fear of punishment.'
1. 78. ἐμποιῆσαι. Cp. l. 35, n.
- ἡσυχύνετο, 'stood in awe of,' for fear of becoming unpopular (τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι), as explained in the next clause. Καὶ (l. 79) is therefore explanatory, = 'that is to say.'
1. 82. ἀρχικόν. Cp. l. 32, n. Ἐπαινεῖν is the infin. after ἀρκεῖν, 'he thought it enough to praise.'



1. 86. ἐτῶν, not the gen. of time, like *νυκτὸς*, &c., but a variety of the *descriptive* genitive, just as in English, 'a man *of* years' = 'an aged man.' So we say 'a man of thirty.' Cp. expressions like *ποταμὸς πλέθρον*, I. iv. § 4, &c.

1. 87. δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν. Cp. iv. 8, n.

1. 91. διδοίη δίκην. See *δίκη* in *Lexicon*.

1. 92. ἐπιорκεῖν. Cp. iv. 40, n.

1. 94. τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ, &c., 'the same *with*' or 'the same *as*.' Lat. *idem quod*, or *idem ac*. Cp. v. 169, n.

1. 96. πολεμίου, &c. 'he never ridiculed an enemy.' Κατὰ with gen. means 'against;' lit. 'down upon,' hence it takes the gen. in compounds which involve that meaning, as *κατακρίνειν*, *κατηγορεῖν*, &c. So in the next clause τῶν συνόντων is governed by *καταγελῶν*,—'he always talked as if he were ridiculing his associates;' i. e. used contemptuous language about them to other people. Some take *διελέγετο* to mean 'he talked *to* his companions as if ridiculing them.' The former is preferable.

1. 99. φυλαττομένων, 'on their guard.' Cp. iv. 51, v. 155, n.

1. 100. μόνος ᾤετο, &c., i. e. 'he thought he was the only person in the world who had discovered how easy it is to,' &c. For *εἰδέναι ὄν*, cp. i. 77, n.

1. 104. χρῆσθαι here = 'to impose upon,' lit. 'to use' as he liked. Cp. i. 82, n.

1. 107. μὴ is indefinite = 'whoever was not a rascal;' τὸν οὐ πανοῦργον would point to some particular man who was not so.

τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, partitive gen., denoting a *class*, lit. 'among the number of the simpletons.'

1. 108. παρ' οἷς, &c. The antecedent to οἷς is *τούτους*, the object of *κτῆσασθαι*.

τοὺς πρώτους = *φιλῖα πρωτεύοντας*, 'those who (hitherto) held the first place in their friendship,' and is the object of *διαβάλλειν*.

1. 110. παρέχεται (middle), lit. 'to make *for his own ends*.' Πειθομένους is predicative. For the meanings of *παρέχειν* see iii. 102, n.

1. 112. ἐπιδεικνύμενος, 'by showing.' Cp. i. 66, n.

δύναιτο, the regular opt. in a dependent assertion (I. 7, n.)—'that he had the power;' ἐθέλοι ἂν requires an 'if' clause to be supplied,—'that he *would* injure them, *if opportunity should arise*.'

1. 113. κατέλεγεν, 'reckoned,' or 'set it down (to his own credit) as' &c. Lat. *imputare*.

1. 114. χρώμενος αὐτῷ, 'in his dealings with him.' Cp. the Latin 'familiariter *uti*,' and see v. 48, n.

1. 117. διεπράξατο, &c., lit. 'he managed with Aristippus so as to get the command of his mercenary force,' i. e. 'succeeded in obtaining



the command, &c.' Cyrus had given Aristippus a force of 4000 mercenaries, to enable him to put down a rival faction in Thessaly (I. i. § 10).

l. 120. Distinguish ταῦτά, *eadem*, from ταῦτα, *ea* (i. 98, n.)

l. 121. οὐκ ἀπέθανε. The reason probably was that Menon took credit at the Persian court for having caused the apprehension of his colleagues. His ultimate fate was most likely due to the influence of Parysatis, who did not fail to take revenge upon all concerned in the death of her favourite son. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxx.

l. 127. κακῶν. For the gen. after καταγελᾶν see l. 96, n.

l. 128. εἰς φιλίαν, lit. 'with respect to friendship;' i. e. 'for their behaviour to their friends.'

l. 129. τὰ πέντε, &c. Cp. l. 63, n.



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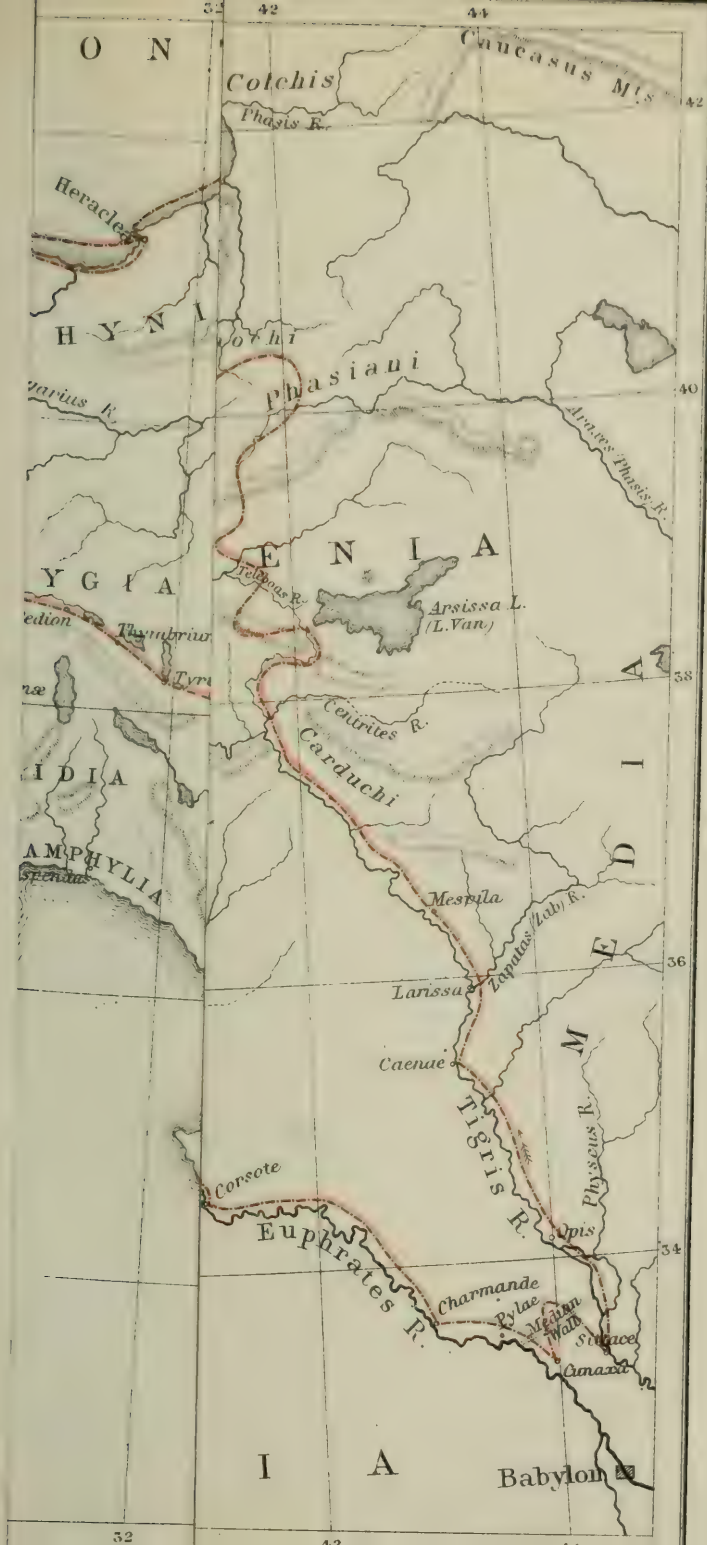
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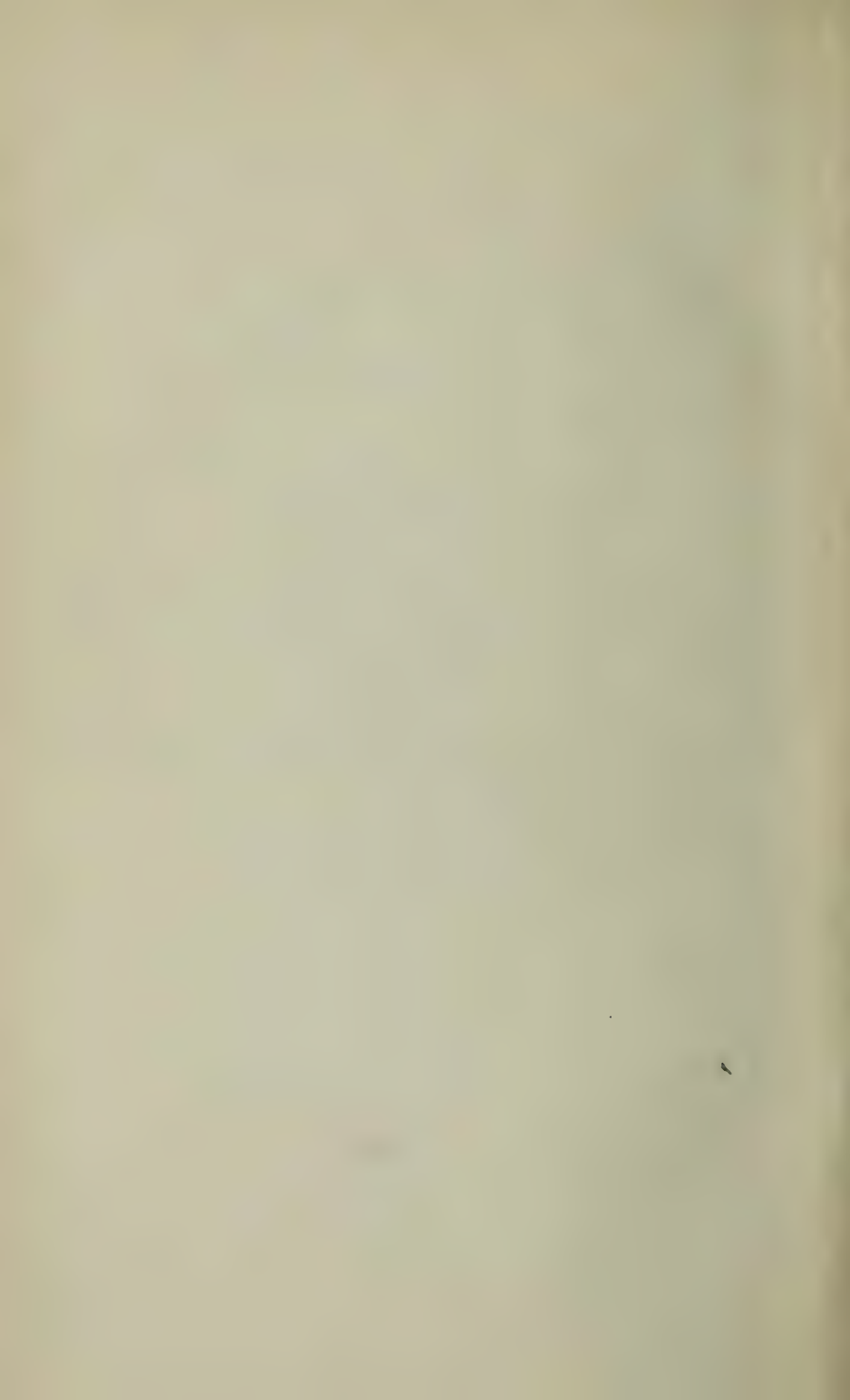


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